DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 064 179	SO 000 846

TITLE	Papers: 1969: Communications.
INSTITUTION	Comparative and International Education Society of Canada.
PUB DATE	69
NOTE	113p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	*Comparative Education; Conference Reports; Elementary Grades; Ethnic Groups; International Education; Minority Groups
IDENTIFIERS	*Canada

ABSTRACT

An analysis of the unique and shared patterns within Canadian education is offered in these conference proceedings. The major portion of the program is devoted to an examination by various discussants of unique or important characteristics among: The Territories; Prairie Provinces; British Columbia; Ontario; Quebec (in French); The Atlantic Provinces; and Canadian education as a whole. A second section of the program concerns Research in Comparative and International Education. The three presentations are: Foreign Comment on Canadian Education, 1750-1900, by R. Magnuson; La Raison d'Etre de la S.C.E.C.I., by A. Farine; and Educational Aid: A Bibliographic Essay and a Plea for New Lines of Enquiry, by M. Zachariah. (JLB)

ED 064179

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The Comparative and
International Education
Society of Canada

La Société Canadienne
d'Education Comparée
et Internationale

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Papers : 1969 : Communications

THE COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION SOCIETY OF CANADA

Edited by Publications Committee
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We acknowledge with gratitude the financial assistance of the Donner Canadian Foundation in the publication of our Proceedings during these first years of The Comparative and International Education Society of Canada.

FOREWORD

"Classroom to Community"

The Comparative and International Education Society of Canada has been engaged these past three years in the examination of the style and stance of Canadian educational systems. On the assumption that "know thyself" has a special application to people and systems concerned with comparative and international education, the Canadian Society began by looking at the foreign influences which shaped the Canadian schools and then proceeded to look at the unique characteristics of the systems which emerged.

Though there is no special virtue in uniqueness it nevertheless does help define the differences and provide for needed recognition of subtle similarities. In the pages which follow the reader will find perceptive analyses of the particular ways and means which men in the different realms and regions of Canada have drawn upon their diverse pasts and presents to shape educational systems in the image of their own unique communities. And despite the fact that provincial legislatures still jealously guard their educational virginities, the cultures and conventions of the different regions of Canada have been shaped into regional communities in the classrooms of the nation to such an extent that unique patterns have emerged distinct in character and ethos.

Beneath these differences, however, there is also evident the emergence of that Canadian identity which politician and statesman alike have been seeking. The responsibility for education, originally and still constitutionally a provincial jurisdiction exclusively has in actual fact become increasingly a matter for sharing by municipal, provincial and federal authorities. This mix has resulted in the emergence of styles of education now often bearing more the stamp of a region than that of a particular province though exceptions do exist to prove the rule. It is these unique styles which will in time come to meld and contribute to what is recognizable as the Canadian educational identity. It will then be recognized here as elsewhere that the classrooms of nations are the creators of communities.

Thus these comprehensive views of the Canadian educational scene help to reveal the character of the ambitions and ambivalences presently to be found in Canada's schools. These, more than ever before, are trying to strike viable balances between aims which call for the need for unity on the one hand and the appreciation of ethnic diversity on the other; between adherence to outmoded provincialism and the recognition of the need for a new educational federalism; between unrealistic academic patterns on one side and realistic vocational programs on the other; between those who demand the traditional and those who dare the innovative; between a nineteenth century authoritarianism and a twentieth century liberalism; between the rigidities of centralization and the flexibilities of decentralization; and, between remaining in a comfortable and starry-eyed dependence upon outside help or maturing to a responsible independence in the pursuit of dream and destiny.

Canada's second century of confederation is being served by systems of education fully conscious of their four-hundred year past, their role in the present, and their responsibility to the future not only of Canada but of mankind. Despite the differences and the divisions to be found in the means of education there is a sense of common purpose as regards its ends. In one way or another one-quarter of the nation's twenty million people are engaged in the educational enterprise as student, teacher, principal, trustee or other capacity, all of whom represent a commitment to the idea that education in the modern world is as much a necessity for life as food, shelter and clothing, that indeed the comity of nations depends upon the community of the classroom.

Joseph Katz
Vancouver
October, 1969

AVANT-PROPOS

"De la salle de classe à la communauté"

La Société Canadienne d'Education comparée et internationale s'occupe depuis trois ans à examiner le genre et la position des systèmes canadiens d'éducation. Si l'assertion "se connaître soi-même" s'applique particulièrement aux personnes et aux systèmes concernant l'éducation comparée et internationale, la Société Canadienne débuta en examinant les influences étrangères qui ont formées les écoles canadiennes et ensuite observa les caractéristiques uniques des systèmes qui en sont surgis.

Même s'il n'y a rien de spécial en fait d'originalité, ces nouveaux systèmes vont aider à préciser les différences et à reconnaître les similarités subtiles. Dans les pages suivantes, le lecteur découvrira des analyses perceptives des manières et moyens particuliers que les hommes dans les divers domaines et régions du Canada ont tirés de leurs divers passés et présents pour façonner leurs systèmes d'éducation à l'image de leurs propres communautés. Malgré que les législatures provinciales gardent toujours jalousement leur virginité pédagogique, les cultures et conventions sociales des différentes régions du Canada se sont façonnés en communautés régionales dans les salles de classe du pays - jusqu'au point où des types uniques sont apparus, distincts, au point de vue caractère et ethique.

Tout au-dessous de ces différences, cependant, on observe l'émergence de cette identité canadienne que le politicien at l'homme d'état recherchent. La responsabilité de l'éducation, originalement et toujours constitutionnellement sous la juridiction de la province, à vrai dire est devenue de plus en plus une responsabilité à partager entre le municipal, le provincial et le fédéral. Ce partage a résulté en une différence de styles d'éducation qui portent l'empreinte surtout d'une région que de la province en question, même si on peut compter quelques exceptions à la règle. Ce sont ces styles uniques qui, avec le temps, se confondront pour contribuer à ce que l'on reconnaît comme l'identité d'éducation canadienne. Alors on reconnaîtra ici comme ailleurs que les salles de classe de la nation créées les communautés.

Ainsi, cette vue d'ensemble de la scène pédagogique canadienne aide à révéler le caractère des ambitions et ambivalences que l'on retrouve actuellement dans les écoles du Canada. Celles-ci, plus que jamais, essaient de trouver un équilibre viable entre les buts qui nécessitent d'une part l'unité et d'autre part une appréciation de la diversité ethnique; entre l'attachement au provincialisme démodé et la reconnaissance du besoin d'un nouveau système au niveau du fédéral; entre des modèles académiques irréalistes d'une part, et d'autre part des programmes professionnels réalistes; entre ceux qui réclament le traditionnel et ceux qui osent l'innovation; entre un autoritarisme du dixneuvième siècle et un libéralisme du vingtième siècle; entre la rigidité de la centralisation et la souplesse de la décentralisation; et, entre demeurer dans une dépendance confortable mais peu pratique en comptant sue l'aide de l'extérieur ou d'échoir à une indépendance responsable dans la poursuite du rêve et du destin.

Le deuxième siècle de confédération du Canada est desservi par des systèmes d'éducation parfaitement conscients de de leur passé de quatre cents ans, leur rôle dans le présent et leur responsabilité vis-à-vis du futur, non seulement du Canada mais aussi de l'humanité. Malgré les différences et les divisions qui se trouvent dans les moyens d'éducation, il y a un certain sentiment d'objectif commun en ce qui concerne les buts finaux. D'une manière ou d'une autre, un quart de la population nationale de vingt millions est engagé dans l'entreprise pédagogique soit comme étudiants, professeurs, directeurs – dépositaire ou dans une autre capacité – en fait, tous ceux qui représentent l'idée que l'éducation dans le monde moderne est aussi nécessaire à la vie que la nourriture, l'abri et le vêtement, qu'en effet le bon accord entre les nations dépend de la communauté de las salle de classe.

Joseph Katz
Vancouver
Octobre 1969

THE UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF CANADIAN EDUCATION

I

CHARACTERISTICS IN THE TERRITORIES

By W.G.Devitt, *Arctic District Superintendent*
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

The annals of history in northern Canada reveal a unique pattern. Prior to 1950, with the exception of a few residential schools operated by the Roman Catholic and Anglican missions, there was no formal system of education as it existed in southern Canada and other parts of the western world. The federal government, which was responsible for the Northwest Territories from 1870, gave little thought to changing the mode of living of the sturdy, smiling dwellers of the snow igloo or of the scattered bands of Indians wandering at will over the vast forest area of the south Mackenzie. Even in 1952, when I first arrived at Fort Smith, there was no uniform system of education. There were eight or nine different types of schools – from a 12-room public school in Yellowknife to one-room schools operated by mining companies – all of which received grants from the federal government. Many of the schools operated by the missions were on a part time basis only. There was very irregular attendance and teaching qualifications were given little attention.

By 1955, all the small systems were co-ordinated by an agreement which gave the federal government complete responsibility for education north of the 60th parallel and in the littoral regions of northern Quebec where at that time there existed numerous small Eskimo communities. The children of white status continued to be territorial responsibility. Their education was, and is in the Northwest Territories, paid for through territorial per capita grants to the federal government. Under the new federal system responsibility extended over all areas of education – pre-school, primary, secondary, adult and vocational. It also included the cost of construction and operation of pupil residences.

The responsibility for the administration of the program was delegated to the Education Division of the Northern Administration Branch of the then Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources. Its aim was to give all people in the north, with consideration for the cultures involved, equality of opportunity with other Canadians. To attempt to achieve this goal in one, or even two generations, for a people living until recently in a stone age, was a formidable task. To bridge this cultural gap – leading these people to the point where they could meet the requirements of the highly industrialized, urban orientated society – while at the same time preserving the dignity of a people with a proud cultural tradition, has made the task complicated indeed and certainly unique.

I should mention here, as a backdrop to the topic under discussion, certain changes now taking place in the administrative system. Since 1965, the Department has become the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and has undergone a functional reorganization to co-ordinate the education of Indians and Eskimos and others. By April 1, 1970, the responsibility for education in the Northwest

Territories will be delegated to the territorial government with headquarters in Yellowknife. Concurrently, responsibility for the education of the Eskimos in northern Quebec is in the process of being taken over by the Province of Quebec.

This system of education obviously gives rise to many unusual characteristics, some of which are:

(1) involvement of an unique culture
(2) special geographical features
(3) federal government implications
(4) involvement of the Churches
(5) teacher-training implications
(6) special provision for "higher education"
(7) general administrative framework

Cultural Implications

Across southern Canada almost every school system is involved with a variety of cultures. Usually, however, there is a sprinkling of "other cultures" among enrolments which are primarily of English – or French – speaking Canadians. In the north, the situation is the reverse. There are usually (Whitehorse and Yellowknife excepted) a few English-speaking pupils in a school situation predominantly Eskimo or Indian. In some situations all three cultures may be represented.

In the south not too much attention is paid to providing immigrants with experiences in the classroom which would maintain their pride in the traditional culture. Nor is effort made to provide communication in the "parent tongue." Almost the total effort is towards mastery of the economic language so that immigrants will quickly become "integrated" Canadians. The parents themselves usually organize experiences to preserve the cultural values and customs they wish their children to retain.

In the north, however, more emphasis is placed on what we call "cultural inclusion and enrichment" and on "cultural synthesis," which involves an approach mid-way between cultural replacement and cultural continuation. Our teachers stress a program which, we hope, will build a stronger Canadian culture without depreciating any culture.

Our system is unique in that, prior to World War II, the federal government paid little heed to that one-third of Canada north of the 60th parallel. Since there were no local resources to handle educational responsibility, the people in this area suffered over many years from a tremendous deficiency in formal education, with the result that today we find living in our northern areas several thousand young Canadians whose parents, or even older brothers and sisters, have never been inside a classroom. Indeed, there are still many children of school age who have not been to school, though their numbers have diminished greatly in the past two years.

The Government School is still new. Formal education is new. Many fear it will rob the pupils of their cultural heritage. Others feel it is the only answer to the future problems of the Eskimo. In the north education is not yet taken for granted, for there is little tradition of academic learning and there is no tradition of a "school attendance generation." Pupils, or their parents, cannot readily communicate with their teacher since at this date we have few, if any, qualified Eskimo teachers. And only a few of our teachers are fluent in the Eskimo tongue. Moreover, in this educational work in the north, we have no similar experiences on which to base judgements. There is no accumulation of written materials on which to build. Past traditions and cultural values could only be handed down from generation to generation through word of mouth. Even then the small nomadic groups, in their respective hunting and trapping areas sparsely scattered through the expansive north, rarely visited each other. It was not until the missionaries introduced a syllabic form of writing that there was some communication by the medium of writing.

To reduce the culture shock of the young child entering the classroom, most schools employ a young indigenous man or woman who bridges the gap between the old and the new, and acts as a vital link between the parent and the school.

Since the people with whom we are concerned are of a different culture, it has been necessary to adapt curricula to meet their specific needs. For years, therefore, we have had a Curriculum Section whose responsibility has been to provide materials and give guidance to teachers so that they might make the necessary curriculum adaptations in their local communities. As a guide, the Ontario Curriculum is adapted for the Baffin Region, the Manitoba one for the Keewatin Region, that of Protestant Quebec for Arctic Quebec Region, the Alberta one for the Mackenzie District, and that of British Columbia for the Yukon Territory.

To further complicate our educational program, there are in the most schools pupils who are not indigenous to the north. These are the children of white parents who have moved north to take employment, mostly on a temporary basis. These parents want their children to be able to return in due course to their southern schools without loss of attainment level. In communities like Yellowknife and Whitehorse, the majority of the pupils in the public schools are of white status. Their parents, therefore, wish an educational program similar to that given in southern communities. In other locations such as Inuvik and Frobisher, there is also a considerable percentage of white pupils who wish the same consideration, while in smaller communities like Cape Dorset and Fort Resolution, there is only a small percentage of white children.

All this makes it imperative at this period of northern development to attract to the north the most qualified and enterprising teachers to ensure that the educational services offered, and in fact services in all fields of administration, are of the highest possible calibre. The Eskimo, Indian or Métis children lack the competitive spirit which motivates many white children, and hence require greater stimulation in order to succeed academically. Their parents, too, since many are not aware of the value of a formal education, are not inclined to encourage their children to do homework nor can they read to them the bedtime stories that most children in the south hear each night. Until recently most children lived in one-room shacks, where it was impossible to read or study during the evenings, or even get the required amount of sleep. Today, with our new housing program, this situation is rapidly changing. Most of the Eskimos in the Keewatin and Baffin Regions now live in two and three-bedroom houses. Over half of the 1200 houses planned for the Eskimos have been completed and are now occupied. It is perhaps unique that our adult educational program provided an intensive program to prepare the Eskimo people for the occupancy of these houses. The program included several phases and was carried out by specialists in the homemaking field assisted by young Eskimos, most of whom were attending high school. Phase I of the program introduced concepts of housing rental and responsibilities which would go with the renting and occupation of these new homes. Phase II involved assistance with the actual occupation of the houses and familiarization with the new facilities, such as stoves, refrigerators and electricity, and with general home-management. Phases III and IV emphasized the attendant responsibilities leading to the establishment of Eskimo committees which would be responsible for the whole operation. Another adult education project, which could certainly be considered unique, was a southern exposure adult education tour held in February, 1969. Twenty-three Eskimo men and women, representing the communities of Arctic Quebec, spent two weeks touring southern Ontario. Most of these were married couples, very few with formal schooling, and ranging in age from 20 to 50 years. Two-thirds of the group spoke little or no English or French. The tour was conducted by Mr. Keith Crowe who speaks fluent Eskimo, assisted by two young Eskimos at high school level who acted as guides, counsellors and interpreters. During the tour they visited industrial plants, education centres, an Indian reserve, and also the schools where a number of Eskimo children were taking vocational courses or academic up-grading courses. They also visited Guelph, Ontario, where some 12 young Eskimo men and women are employed. One of the main objectives of the project was to give to the participants first-hand experience of the type of society with which many of their children will have to cope in future years. Throughout the north, leadership training courses provide training in democratic procedures, such as conducting meetings, organizing co-operatives, and in general government procedures and responsibilities.

The north is unique also in that the parents of the children have had no experience with school boards or, for the most part, parent-teacher groups, though several times a year they are invited to visit the school to see what is involved in the education of their children. In a number of small communities the teacher is the sole representative of the Department and, in addition to the educational program, is responsible for all government administrative services.

Because of the academic level and cultural background of the people, there are no ready-made courses suitable for them. Whether it be a course in boat building, diesel engine maintenance or training for classroom assistants, a special syllabus must be prepared to make it practical and meaningful for the people concerned.

Our education system is unique geographically. We are educating in the most sparsely settled area in Canada, and perhaps the world. Each person has approximately 50 square miles of territory in the million and a half square miles for which we are responsible. Because of the nomadic nature of the people, until recently 10% of the school population were in school at one location, Inuvik, where a large pupil residence was opened in 1957. For the same reason, small eight-bed residences were established in the small communities throughout the Arctic so that the children could remain in the settlement when their parents were out on the land. With the new housing development and local co-operatives engaged in various cottage industries, all this is rapidly changing so that within a very short time the residences will be used only for those children at the high school level who receive their education in centralized schools where suitable academic and vocational courses can be given. The vast distances between settlements and the severe climate give rise to unique problems of communication and transportation. Far removed from even the nearest settlement, with no outside communication except by air, radio and telephone in most cases, the school principal and his staff have to rely to a great extent on their own initiative to implement a practical educational program for their community. Nowhere is it more important that the educational staff work in harmony with other government agencies and those other agencies present in each small community (churches, Hudson's Bay Company, Royal Canadian Mounted Police) towards total community development. Nowhere is it more important that we have good examples of people from the southern culture, since the Eskimos are very observant and are searching for proof that an education produces people who are well organized, adaptable and of exemplary character.

Even the construction of new schools presents unique problems. Plans for these must be made at least two years in advance, since materials for construction must often be brought in by ice breaker one year so that construction may proceed the following year. If shortages occur through shipping errors, construction of a school may be delayed a further year since the only other means of bringing in supplies may be by air, which is too costly for transporting most heavy equipment even if suitable airstrips were available. Until recent years, there were few airstrips in the north where planes could land the year round.

Since most of the stores do not handle sufficient quantities and varieties of food for government staff, rations have to be supplied to all the teachers. These are shipped in by sea-lift during the summer and, hopefully, are in the community when the teacher arrives. In the same way, the bulk of school materials and supplies must be on hand when the teacher arrives. An error in shipping might result in a classroom being without adequate supplies for the whole year. Even the teacher's household effects must be brought in during the summer by sea-lift. Imagine the plight of a teacher who arrives in the settlement to find that the boat carrying her effects had met with an accident or failed to deliver vital materials. In one case, such materials were reported a year later to be on the dock at Sydney, Australia!

Nowhere else is the climate quite so cruel, making it necessary for houses and classrooms to be warm and comfortable. A break-down of heating systems can be a very serious matter indeed. Perhaps, nowhere else in the world, is the drinking water for schools supplied from icebergs or ice blocks cut from a nearby lake. Nowhere else in the world would a teacher, hearing a noise in his storeroom in the middle of the night, get up to find a polar bear helping himself to a smoked ham.

Before the take-over of the Mackenzie District by the Territorial Government in April 1969, the Northern Administration Branch had complete responsibility for education in the Northwest Territories and northern Quebec and for the Yukon in so far as general policy matters and school construction were concerned. Even under the new arrangements, the Commissioners of both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon are responsible to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for all educational activities in their territories.

Up until April, 1969, the Northwest Territories was the only legislative unit in Canada where public education was administered by a federal department of government. Under the Northwest Territories Act of 1905, authority to legislate in respect of education within the Territories was assigned to the Council of the Northwest Territories on a similar pattern to that of the Provinces. As previously mentioned, because the Council of the Northwest Territories had no civil servants until recently to organize and administer a school system, it agreed that the federal government supply this service. Under the terms of the Agreement, the federal government operates the school system in a manner similar to a Department of Education in a Province and offers advice and service on all educational matters to the Minister of the Department and to the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories. Intermingled with the federal system are several school districts – Yellowknife Public School District, Yellowknife Separate School District and Hay River Separate School District.

Perhaps a word here about education in the Yukon Territory would be appropriate. This territory was part of the Northwest Territories until 1898, when with the discovery of gold and the consequent rapid increase in population, the Yukon Act was passed which created the present Yukon Territory as a separate political entity. Of a total population of 16,000 approximately, 2,000 are Indians and another 2,000 are part-Indian. Here there are two main types of schools, Public and Roman Catholic(Separate). In addition, there is one residential school administered by the Federal Indian Affairs Branch. Problems of communication and transportation are not as great as those in the Territories since all the schools except Old Crowe are along the length of the Alaska Highway, in Whitehorse, or in mining communities such as Mayo, Keno, Elsa and Dawson City. They are all accessible by road throughout the year.

To recapitulate, up until about 1950 the Roman Catholic and the Anglican churches, with one or two exceptions (Yellowknife), were the only agencies offering education in the Northwest Territories. Children were accommodated in residential schools and per capita grants were paid by the federal government for those of Indian and Eskimo status and by the territorial government for those of white status. In 1955, this responsibility was taken over by the federal government. Today the churches operate pupil residences at Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, Fort McPherson, Inuvik and Chesterfield Inlet. The pupil residences in Churchill and Yellowknife, which cater to the needs of vocational and high school pupils, are operated by the federal government – as are the small eight-pupil residences located in other communities.

The north is unique in that there are no teacher-training facilities within its boundaries. Hence, with the exception of the training of Eskimo and Indian classroom assistants, all teachers employed in the north have received their training from teacher-training institutes in the Provinces or in other parts of the world. Because of the difficult teaching situation we insist that all teachers have senior matriculation, at least one year's teacher-training and two years' teaching experience. Strikingly enough over half our teachers have university degrees. Research done at the University of Alberta three years ago indicated that teachers in the north worked at a 20% higher efficiency than teachers in the south. I should add here that a teacher training program was launched in Yellowknife in September, 1968, in co-operation with the University of Alberta, where those Indian and Eskimo pupils who had attained junior matriculation were given a full year's training and will be placed in schools in September of this year with the understanding that they complete their senior matriculation and become fully qualified in the shortest time possible.

All education in the Northwest Territories and in northern Quebec is free, from pre-school right through to university. At the present time, northern students attend provincial institutions for university and other post-high-school courses. As there are no higher education facilities in the north, the federal and territorial governments provide post-secondary financial assistance to all qualified northern residents. Details of this assistance, which is the most generous of its kind in Canada, are:

(1) outright grants to cover education cost including tuition fees, books, special equipment, supplies and special clothing, and the cost of return transportation from the student's home to the nearest place offering the course desired;

(2) outright grants for board and lodging while the student is attending the university, college, institute or special course.

In 1968, 71 university students and 25 students attending other post-secondary courses were receiving assistance under this program. In 1966-67, 14 students secured loans totalling $11,135.

Indeed, we have a unique education program in the north. Nowhere else in Canada is there such a body of well qualified teachers coming from all parts of Canada and the world. Nowhere else would these teachers have Eskimo or Indian classroom assistants. Nowhere else are cultural and language implications so vital and complicated. Nowhere else are children brought to school from distances up to 2,000 miles. Nowhere else would you find pupils and trainees gathered in little pockets across the whole of Canada, following courses that vary from training courses in fisheries and boat-building on the east coast to training in diesel mechanics and heavy equipment in Nanaimo and Chilliwack. Between these points are selected pupils integrated in the regular school system in cities like Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg and Edmonton, and our little relocation project at Guelph, Ontario, where 12 Eskimos are in regular employment, several for the past five years. Nowhere else is the cost of education from kindergarten to university, or the total cost of those pupils in residences, paid by the government. Nowhere else would you find a school like our Churchill Vocational School, where 250 teenaged Eskimos from an area of almost a million square miles take a practical educational program, and where pupils are guaranteed at the end of three years, advanced training leading to a vocation, or are placed directly on the job. In no other location is the syllabic form of writing used to disseminate information through our adult education program to people who have never attended school. Nowhere else would you find Eskimo classroom assistants co-operating in the classroom with professional teachers to make education more meaningful in a unique cultural situation.

Only in the north are costs of transportation and school construction so high or construction and maintenance so difficult due to severe weather and permafrost conditions. Nowhere else does the Superintendent of Education and teacher consultant have to rely totally on air transportation to visit the schools.

Finally, nowhere else in Canada can a Superintendent of Schools and his fellow educators gain more satisfaction in watching and participating in a program which is transforming a stone age culture into a society equipped to meet the challenges of the twentieth century.

II

IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

By M.R.Lupul
University of Alberta

You will note that I have taken the liberty to change the title of this paper from "unique" to "important" characteristics of prairie education. One who embarks upon a discussion of what is unique treads, I believe, upon very difficult ground. Implicit in such a venture is the assumption that one is so knowledgeable that one can distinguish the unique from the commonplace. I do not claim to possess such powers. To assume omniscience is always hazardous; to do so in education is foolhardy; and to do so in Canadian educational history is plain suicidal. This is not so much because the historical literature is meagre. It is not extensive, but it is by no means as limited as is sometimes claimed, particularly if one disregards the very few books published and concentrates on the fairly numerous articles and theses which have been written in the last fifty years. Yet this is just where the problem begins. It is very difficult to keep up with all the material on a *national* scale, even when it is readily available, which is not always the case. Hence to attempt a discussion of what is unique about prairie education is to leave one's flank exposed on every side, hardly an enviable position. But be assured I am no coward and you will have plenty to grapple with, for I view the opportunity before me as an invitation to generalize with as much force as history and a life of almost forty-two years on the Canadian prairies will permit.

Let me begin by singling out what may well be the most important characteristic of education on the prairies, namely, the faith in education itself. This faith was particularly marked before the Second World War. Although rooted in the Enlightenment, this faith was always something more than merely a faith in education for political citizenship. Education for citizenship was a good thing, of course; but education for citizenship in the sense of teaching the people to rule themselves never had the vogue on the prairies (except perhaps during the Great Depression) that it had in the United States from the beginning. On the Canadian prairies, men were to be good subjects of the queen or king and to regard themselves as members of the British Empire whose destinies they could not readily influence but to which they had the extraordinarily good fortune to belong. This faith in education was something deeper than the acquisition of political competence; it was a faith in learning itself, or more usually (and this is the crucial point) a faith in the efficacy of being in contact with learning, of listening to the learned, of favoring learning, all of which reflected virtue on the individual whether he learned anything or not. Learning was a good thing in itself – and the learned were worthy of the highest respect, especially if they could also entertain, that is, if they could make the kind of folksy speeches which invariably accompanied the numerous toasts at public banquets.

Why the respect for learning? For one thing, the learned, the wise, were expected to lead. In the day of the small business man and small farmer, the learned – that is, the priest, the teacher, the newspaper editor, the lawyer, and the doctor (a real professor was practically an oracle!) – laid the foundations for institutional life on the prairies. The first members of the Board of Education in Manitoba and the Old Northwest Territories – the ancestors of today's departments of education – were in the main clergymen and lawyers. Among the immigrants, especially those from central and south-eastern Europe who came in ever-increasing numbers after 1896, the respect for learning was the result of an obvious dearth of learning in their ranks. Simple literacy was a great accomplishment and anyone who had attended a secondary school in the old country not only led in the new, but in broken bilingualism mediated between the immigrant colonies and the assimilative forces of the wider society, acting at times as a protective buffer between the two and always as an interpreter. Of course, under primitive pioneer conditions, learning for most had another aspect to it. It was the most direct route of escape from back-breaking labor. The learned literally did not work – or so at least it seemed to the woman behind the hoe or the man at the end of a pick and shovel. But such escape was only for the pioneer's children. For himself or for those of his children who for various reasons left school early, there was only the faith in learning. This faith had almost a redemptive aspect to it. In the midst of great toil, under crude living conditions, and a chronic shortage of liquid capital, he who attended school meetings or public lectures, or who merely boarded the teacher, or even furnished over-night accommodation to any of the learned, engaged in what was practically an act of devotion which purified and marked the participant or donor as one possessed of sterling character. If it was under the aegis of Providence that the West was settled, it was through learning that the Almighty's plans for 'The Last Best West' would come to fruition. There were no troubles on the prairies that more knowledge could not solve; there were no difficulties so profound that more learning could not overcome. Providence had been generous with land, water, wood and other natural resources. Paradise was just around the corner; all that was needed was human ingenuity to make the most effective use of the assets and for that learning was the key.

Not, of course, that anyone made any fine distinctions about learning. Clergymen were learned but so also were graduates of business colleges, schools of agriculture or dentistry, or normal schools. In fact, anyone who had attended any kind of institution in any kind of program for any length of time was learned if the result was a certificate and skills which were useful – preferably immediately useful – to others. Nowhere did a philosophical or speculative, literary or historical education appear more ornamental than in this context and nowhere did it have fewer sponsors than on the prairies. Not surprisingly, a myriad of sects and cults and strange mixtures of millenarianism and economics like the Patrons of Industry, the United Grain Growers, the Progressive Party, the United Farmers of Alberta, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and Social Credit sprang up to fill the gap. In this context, also, the development of state universities was practically inevitable, based on 'the Wisconsin idea' of service to the community and exemplified in such innovations as university extension classes in an ever-growing list of courses that were immediately useful, the three-year B.A. degree, and the two-year pre-law, pre-dent, and pre-med degrees. While the weak financial base of frontier communities undoubtedly did much to shorten the time devoted to liberal studies, the tendency to consider anything which went on in the classroom as learning quickly debased the currency of humanistic education.

This combination of strong leadership from the top coupled with a high, if generally indiscriminatory, regard for education from below has given the prairies a reputation for being in the forefront of educational change in Canada. Naturally the populace finds this an attractive image to cultivate, and there has been just enough publicity given to specific developments over the years to keep the image alive. Certainly the introduction of the large units of school administration and of the 'enterprise' method of teaching in the elementary schools in the 1930's, followed by the B.Ed. degree in the 1940's and post-graduate work on a grand scale in the 1950's are changes well-known to most of you. But there is another side to this innovation. First of all, it was largely confined to one province, Alberta, with Manitoba even today still opposed to the large unit at the elementary school level. Secondly, even in Alberta the large unit met stiff resistance until the shortage of teachers during the last World War forced many one-room schools to close. Thus sheer necessity rather than any particularly progressive outlook on the part of the people was in the end the main stimulus behind school centralization in Alberta. This is not to take anything away from the government of the day which deserves credit for having introduced the legislation and for consistently standing behind it. This, however, is more than can be said for the support later Alberta administrations gave to the B.Ed. degree. The latter was introduced in 1944-45 on the explicit understanding that the minimal period of two years of teacher education would soon become three and then four years. Instead in 1948 the minimal period was reduced to one year and in 1954, in another move popular with the electorate, it was cut back to six weeks! This was certainly change but hardly in keeping with Alberta's progressive image! Graduate work, too, was not the result of any popular movement from below. It was stimulated by outside funds provided by the Kellogg Foundation, and even after the government assumed the full costs of the program, it is doubtful whether any but those most closely involved knew what had happened. In short, contrary to the popular impression, there has been no well-articulated, consistently progressive philosophy of social change motivating Albertans in their march towards educational utopia. On the contrary, the change has been largely an opportunistic reaction to one social situation after another. As people and governments go, this may not be too unusual but it does not do much for the image.

Nowhere has this absence of a progressive philosophy underlying change in Alberta been more evident than in the short shrift given the 'enterprise' method of teaching in recent years. I discussed this phenomenon in the *Comparative Education Review* of June 1967, in the following terms:

> Educational theorists such as John Dewey called for the abolition of subject-matter boundaries and the introduction of classroom activities (unit problems) that grew out of pupil needs and interests. Pupils deeply involved in the learning process, it was said, had more meaningful educational experiences and, as a result, developed a degree of interest in learning that continued long after they left school. To take full advantage of the great variety of pupil needs and interests, units of work (problems) were to replace subjects; multiple source materials were to replace discussions of a single text; and field trips, resource visitors, audio-visual aids, debates, panel discussions, and pupil reports were to replace the recitation and the formal lecture. Learning of subject matter was to be the outcome of problem-solving activity and the quality of activity was as important as the

> amount of subject matter learned.The activity, viewed as controlled inquiry, was to be carried out in close imitation of the scientific method. Moreover, to the extent that problem-solving took place in a democratic setting, it developed habits of social living appropriate to a liberal or free way of life. (p.152).

Such were the intellectual foundations of the 'enterprise' approach to teaching at the elementary school level, probably the most important of the innovations made in the name of progressive education in Alberta. ". . .The 'enterprise', as originally conceived in the mid-1930's," I then went on to say in the same article, "was to be the core (usually occupying more than 50 per cent of daily study time) around which work in most subjects would be organized." (pp.153-54) Instead of the drill technique used in the mastery of facts, pupils would be encouraged to understand and identify themselves with the purposes for which the facts were being mastered; instead of a passive acceptance of the depressed state of the economy with its cruel de-humanization, pupils would be encouraged to build a new and more democratic social order through the group study of local social problems with a view to resolving them through some form of collective democratic action; and instead of eight grades and many subject-matter compartments typical of the usual one-room rural school, grades would be combined and the subject-matter integrated through an activity-type program in which tasks in the common enterprise were assigned to all pupils according to age and special talent. Such at least was the understanding of graduate students returning from the United States after studying the 'new education' in faculties and colleges of education and in the professional literature.

> To handle the 'enterprise' well is unquestionably a difficult task. Capable instructors who possess academic background and experience in teacher-pupil planning of activities are undoubtedly the most important single element for success. Well-stocked libraries are indispensable and ready access to audio-visual aids, as well as the co-operation of the administrative staff, are important. With tools, facilities, and training usually in short supply in depression-ridden Alberta, the "enterprise" had difficulty in establishing itself from the outset. The end of the depression, the disappearance of the one-room rural school, and the waning of enthusiasm for progressivism in the United States after World War II led, in time, to dissatisfaction with the "enterprise" in Alberta. The integration of subject matter was gradually abandoned and the "enterprise" became synonymous with social studies education. (p.154).

Now this in itself might not have been fatal except that the social studies (a fusion of history and selected facts and concepts from several social sciences) had seldom been much more than a label on Alberta curriculum guides. From the outset it had mainly been taught as a mixture of history and geography in the junior and senior high schools. To be respected the elementary teacher tended to follow suit. The result has been much talk in official publications about "problem and projects methods, displays, experiments, field trips, reports, construction of scientific equipment, current events, committee work, parliamentary procedure, and library skills, [while all the while] subject-matter boundaries remain rigid and the units themselves are handed down to the pupils by an external source (the department of education through the teacher) in direct violation of the central idea underlying the 'new education,' namely, that pupil interests and not departmental fiat[s] should be the point of departure for learning." (pp.152-53).

It is not easy to account for such inconsistency, but from R.S.Patterson's study of "The Establishment of Progressive Education in Alberta" one thing is now abundantly clear. Most of those associated with the 'new education' made "no thorough analysis of the philosophical ramifications of the 'new education' " (p.115) and had no deep philosophic commitment to the 'new education.' (p.164; also 147, 151, 161n., 176). Hence the timidity towards, the loss of faith in, and the quick retreat from the 'new education' in recent years. As busy administrators and teachers, few who were caught up in the movement in Alberta had the time to read philsophers like John Dewey or William James and psychologists like Granville Stanley Hall or George Herbert Mead on such topics as the nature of mind and its development, the consequences for cosmology of a limitless and expanding universe, and the alienation of life in an urban-industrial society. Prairie reformers knew that a 'new education' was required, but for the most part they either ignored or did not undertand that the reforms were needed to prepare man for life in what was literally a new world – a mass society bereft of traditional metaphysical certainties about God, mind, free will, conscience, moral law, etc. Second-hand sources seldom treated such matters. Books by professors of education and classroom practioners, the usual textbooks in normal schools and faculties of education, on a multitude of subjects – school administration, reading, curriculum development, the activity classroom, the Dalton Plan, the Winnetka Plan, the Eight-Year Study, tests and measurements, child development, creative expression, group dynamics, guidance and counselling, education for all – American youth – these in the main furnished the philosophic gems to justify the new practices. But had the institutions which mouthed the slogans of the 'new education' paid more attention to the original sources, they would have discovered that the authority for the 'new education' was science, and especially biology (in particular the theory of evolution) and also psychology with its naturalistic view of mind. And, of course, the history of both the theory of evolution and the naturalistic view of mind in our transcendental civilization is such that the mere mention of either is sufficient to start the flow of adrenaline in the veins of the devout Christian.

Now the prairies are full of devout Christians with a philosophy of life which is supernaturalistic not naturalistic, spiritualistic not deterministic, and with a theological view of human nature that is essentially pessimistic not optimistic. To the devout Christian, Infinite Mind is far more important than finite mind, the Logos or the Word is above the individual, and the father and teacher (the keepers of the Word) are to the child as God is to man – the source of all authority to whose will the will of all must bend. As a result, it is difficult to imagine how men with so little intellectual flexibility could long remain proponents of an education which called for a maximum of intellectual flexibility, even on metaphysical questions (or should one say, above all on metaphysical questions).

Not surprisingly, even at the height of the 'new education' movement in the 1940's, in the so-called 'progressive' schools the subject matter still consisted of bodies of knowledge and skills worked up in the past and the chief business of education was to transmit that knowledge and those skills to each new generation, systematically, chronologically and in the shortest possible time. The idea still predominated that moral training consisted of forming habits in keeping with well-known adult standards and rules of conduct and the usual classroom was still governed by rigid time schedules, ingenious schemes of classification, examination, and promotion and rules of order to be obeyed on pain of detention or expulsion. To this end, prescribed textbooks remained the chief means for transmitting the cultural heritage, with teachers acting as the same old taskmasters laboriously doling out that heritage on the recitation plan. In short, classroom work was still imposed from above and from the outside; adult standards, adult subject matter, and adult methods were all foisted upon those growing slowly towards maturity. The gap between the child and the curriculum remained, because the prescribed subject matter and behavior remained foreign to the existing capacities and interests of the young, though the best teachers occasionally used artful means to cover up the more offensive features of this adult-and heritage-centered education.In recent years students the world over have finally been waking up to the fact that for generations they have been literally 'conned' into thinking they have been getting an education, but to date this disaffection has been least evident on the conservative prairies, a fitting tribute to the phlegmatic homes and schools through which most prairie children pass.

Next and lastly, I would like to discuss another important, if now less abrasive, characteristic of education on the prairies, namely, the phenomenon of Canadianization or the education of immigrants. At no time in Canada's history was the focus so much on the patriotic or nationalistic content of Canadian education as it was between 1896 and 1939, when almost overnight literally a horde of so-called 'New Canadians' descended upon the West and their education and that of their children became a major concern of prairie leaders. The importance attached to the problem may be gauged from the fact that Dr.J.T.M.Anderson, a future premier of Saskatchewan (1930-35), but in 1918 the inspector of schools in the Yorkton district, one of the main centres of Ukrainian, Polish and Doukhobor immigration, devoted an entire book to the subject, entitled *The Education of the New-Canadian; a Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem.*

And the problem was truly immense. Imagine, if you will, a trainload of peasants from central and south-eastern Europe disembarking in Winnipeg in 1898, without a knowledge of the language, in very strange (almost exotic) dress, with little money or penniless, virtually 'lost' for all the knowledge of geography they possessed, alternately gullible and suspicious, and a prey inevitably to the full range of opportunists, always so plentiful on the frontier. The newcomers were almost like children in the new land and needed care comparable to that one usually bestows upon the upbringing of the young. But the age was one of laissez-faire and the resident inhabitants, whether from Ontario, Quebec, Great Britain, or western Europe, were themselves in the main recent arrivals and in no position to finance the social programs they themselves required, let alone the additional programs which the host of seemingly hopeless strangers also needed.

Among the third and fourth generations on the prairies today the last point is frequently lost sight of and it cannot be stressed sufficiently. Certainly the settlers already on the prairies were frequently indifferent and/or prejudiced towards the newcomers from central and south-eastern Europe, but the latter were not without their failings as well. In outward appearance, at least, neither side was really all that lovely a specimen of humanity. But (and this is the crucial point) psychologically to the resident settlers the immigrants from eastern Europe vividly underlined a point which most resident immigrants preferred to forget, namely, that no decent white man with a choice would choose to live on the inhospitable prairies, that the latter were really the refuge of the dregs of society and that anybody with any ability or social standing would make his way elsewhere, either south or east, where it was warmer, where fruit would grow, where it was less stoney or less dry, where there were no Indians, half-breeds, or mosquitos, where the seasons varied as gently as the landscape, and where the struggle for survival was not so pressing as to corrode manners, dull the intellect, and brutalize life in general. The area was advertised as 'The Last Best West' and no matter how much local boosters might stress the second adjective ('best'), the area was also the last large area in North America to be settled, and this was not because it had only recently been discovered. In a sense, looking back to that time, the settlement of the prairies by the central and south-eastern Europeans was truly ironic. In fact it really need not have happened at all, for by the mid-1890's all the best land in North America had been taken up and the turn of the prairies was just on the horizon. But Clifford (later Sir Clifford) Sifton panicked and the flood was on, mindless of the national and racial pecking order which horrified newspaper editors and politicians like Frank Oliver of the *Edmonton Bulletin* quickly but futilely advanced to separate desirable from undesirable immigrants.

But to get back to Canadianization itself, the first problem was to define the concept, to give it some meaning. This was no easy task and the definition provided by Dr. G.E. Reaman in the *Canadian Magazine* in October 1922 is as good as any attempted:

> We may define Canadianization as the process of the absorption of the foreign born into our national life, and the acquisition on the part of the foreigner himself of a knowledge of and appreciation for our language, our laws, our institutions and our ideals.[1]

The latter part of the statement leads to the next and even more difficult problem, namely, to state the content of Canadianization or to specify the understandings, attitudes and skills to be acquired by the immigrant and in particular by his children. Anyone who has ever tried to define Canadianism knows only too well the pitfalls involved. Strangely enough, however, these did not seem to bother most writers of two or three generations ago. Whether referred to as the ideals of British civilization, or alternately as the ideals of imperial civilization, or more simply as the principles of Canadian citizenship, the subject of Canadianism gave very few of those who discussed it much intellectual difficulty. As a result, today it is possible to draw up two lists, one containing the characteristics of a Canadian and another the qualities and activities that are un-Canadian.

The first and indispensable characteristic of a Canadian, it was confidently maintained, was a knowledge of the English language; other languages, if mentioned at all, were always ruled out for the West by the English-speaking Canadians. This had disastrous results for the French fact on the prairies. Sensitivity about bilingual schools for French-speaking Canadians was naturally heightened in the multilingual environment, and in the xenophobia generated by World War I instruction in all languages other than English went by the boards. One had to speak white! It was also a good thing to attend church, believe in God, and practice religious tolerance – a mish-mash of churchianity, theism and liberalism which particularly confused minorities like the Mennonites and Hutterites who took all three very seriously and immediately demanded their own denominational schools! This had serious if less disastrous consequences for the Catholic fact on the prairies. Sensitivity about separate schools for Catholics (some of whom were also French-speaking Canadians) was also naturally heightened in the multi-denominational environment. The result was one of the most unique developments in Canadian history. In 1896, for the first and only time, prairie education, especially as conducted in Manitoba, became the sole issue in a federal political election which carried Wilfrid (later Sir Wilfrid) Laurier to power. Other ideals of Canadian civilization to be appreciated and respected by the immigrants were free education, equal justice, self-determination, poise, cleanliness, co-operation, integrity, industry, punctuality, social entertainment that was morally and intellectually uplifting, the tradition of freedom and parliamentary government, ability to cope with great national problems, and a fine domestic life which ran the gamut from the proper care of children to romantic love.

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[1] G.E.Reaman, "Canadianization of the Foreign Born," *Canadian Magazine*, Vol LIX, October 1922, p. 446.

To be un-Canadian, on the other hand, was to speak a foreign language. Parenthetically, words like 'foreign,' 'foreigner,' even 'foreignism' – "Leave me go" is a foreignism – were popular if not subtle terms of disapprobation. To be un-Canadian was also to practice unusual social customs like three-or four-day weddings; to display peculiar habits of dress like the sheepskin coat or babushka; to take a gross attitude towards sexual morality, alcohol, or cards, by living 'common law,' resisting prohibition, and playing poker, especially on Sunday; to show anarchistic, socialistic, or communistic tendencies by favoring trade unions, minimum wage laws, or the graduated income tax; to be materialistic by preferring money, land, and property to the less tangible ideals of Canadian citizenship which few among the rich and powerful took seriously; to show excessive clannishness by forming Polish or Italian associations comparable to the St. George's Society; to have women and young children share in heavy manual labor such as stooking, clearing brush, picking roots or stones, or plowing; to have the house, residence, and stable under the same roof; or to use a dried mixture of cow dung, earth, and straw for fuel.

The means of Canadianization were many, especially between the two world wars: sewing classes, social evenings, nursing and cooking classes, technical, vocational and agricultural instruction, debates, public discussions, reading associations, literary societies, etc. And the agencies were just as numerous: the schools with their fairs, rhymes and memory gems, patriotic songs and exercises, poetry of social uplift, and adult night classes; the Protestant churches with their home missions; the state with its Department of Immigration and Colonization; the Canadian National Railways and its Community Progress Competitions; chautauquas with their mixture of religious revivalism, practical wisdom, and general socializing; competitive musical festivals; the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada with their home visitations and handicraft exhibitions; the IODE with its official ceremonies of welcome for newly-naturalized citizens; the National Council of Women with its aim of a united Canadian womanhood free of race, class, and sectarian differences; the YMCA and YWCA with their friendship centres, English classes, and summer camps; the Frontier College and Reading Camp Association with its university students mixing education with labor in railroad and lumber camps on a part-time basis, and even the incredible Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan in the late 1920's directing its attacks on everything non-Nordic, non-Protestant and non-Canadian.

At this point I think it is well to end. I realize only too well that the discussion of Canadianization could be much expanded, and this I intend to do at some future time – the possibilities are staggering. I realize also that some of the things said in this paper might not sit too well with some of you and that the tone might appear hyper-sensitive, even harsh. Humility is a great virtue but vital indignation, I believe, is as important. And there is unfortunately much to be indignant about in connection with prairie education. A great opportunity to educate man was missed, particularly after World War I, either because prairie educationists did not read what was being written or in reading did not understand or take seriously what was being said about the new world which science, industry, and the city was bringing into being. If it is any consolation, they were not alone, but that does not absolve them from their failure to make full use of the great opportunity to provide for the first time in human history a liberal education for the children of ordinary men and women. Today as is well known students themselves are demanding an education in the realities of life, in what is the meaning of life in a secular, thermonuclear age, and the range of their questions and complaints is a measure of our failure. Yet, even without knowing it, they are asking for little more than what the leading spokesmen of the progressive movement had advocated two and three generations ago. And, of course, the intellectuals of the twentieth century were only repeating by and large what educational theorists from at least the time of Comenius have been saying. Yet we seem to be no further ahead – otherwise why all the disenchantment with the type of education which we currently shepherd? The fault, I say, lies with those in education who have no philosophy of education themselves and teach or run an office without any direction other than what circumstances (mainly the availability of money) will allow. The result is the kind of aimlessness in education which breeds faddism, of which current examples are the emphasis on structure in education, or discovery learning, or team teaching, or programmed learning, neither of which is related to any concept of man, the universe or even society; in short, to a philosophy of education.

One more point. I realize better than perhaps even you do that for an historian this is not too scholarly a paper (there are very few footnotes in it). This does not bother me as much as perhaps it should. This is an interpretive essay and one's own sensitivity to recent developments does count for something. I took this assignment seriously, however, and particularly that part which is concerned with pointing up areas of further research. I believe I have suggested enough hypotheses to keep an army of researchers busy for a generation. But I wonder whether anybody really cares.

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III

CHARACTERISTICS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA*

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Rather than speak of the "unique characteristics of B.C. education" as was originally suggested, we have decided to approach the topic in two parts. The first concerns certain organizational features of the public system of education which either set off the B.C. system or else put it historically among the ranks of the first provinces to introduce the feature under discussion. The organizational aspects to be treated are the lack of public support for denominational schools, consolidation of schools, large units of administration, the junior high school, and the composite high school. The second part of the paper treats the matter of minority education – a question of pressing concern today to both Canadians and Americans. In British Columbia's history two cases are worthy of attention: the education of Doukhobors in the last half-century and of Japanese-Canadians during World War II.

ORGANIZATIONAL FEATURES

Denominational Schools and Religious Instruction

Even before Confederation the non-sectarian nature of B.C. public education had been clearly defined. The most prominent individuals in the campaign for non-sectarian schools were two newspapermen, Amor de Cosmos on Vancouver Island and John Robson in New Westminster. Making ample use of their editorial pages, they repeatedly urged the governments of their respective colonies to avoid the "religious feuds" of "our Eastern Provinces" and to follow a policy well "clear of such inflammable questions."[1] Since both men had grown up and been educated in the East they were well acquainted with the factional struggles over separate and denominational schools. De Cosmos' campaign bore fruit when in Vancouver Island's Free School Act of 1865 it was made clear that "all schools established under the provisions of this Act shall be conducted strictly upon non-sectarian principles."

Meanwhile with the union of the two colonies in 1866 the new governor, Seymour, made an eloquent plea opposing any form of religious instruction in the public school classroom:

> Religious teaching ought not to be allowed. . . .It is vain to say that there are certain elementary matters in which all Christians, leaving out the Jews, must agree. It is merely calling upon a man picked up at random, allured by a trifling

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* This paper of joint authorship was presented by Professor Wilson.

[1] *British Colonist*, Sept. 14, 1859.

> salary, to do what the whole religious wisdom, feeling, and affection of the world has not yet done. [2]

The School Act of 1872 confirmed the non-sectarian nature of the public schools but encouraged teachers "to inculcate the highest possible morality" without resorting to religious dogma. By the Act of 1877 provision was made for Scripture reading without comment and The Lord's Prayer, but subject to the approval of the local trustees. Such religious exercises remained optional until 1944 when in the heat of war both were made obligatory. Twenty-five years later protests against this provision are mounting. Last April at their annual meeting the British Columbia Teachers' Federation passed a resolution calling upon the government to remove all religious exercises from the public school. To date the Social Credit Government has given every indication it has no desire to amend the legislation.

Moreover the denominational school question is far from being a dead issue. Denominational schools throughout the province have recently banded together in an effort to upset the traditional governmental aloofness to denominational schools. An organization has been formed called the Federation of Independent School Associations [3] and briefs have been presented to the government requesting recognition of their schools as legally constituted educational institutions.

Consolidation of Schools

In most provinces school consolidation has resulted from the deliberate efforts of individuals such as the wealthy Sir William Macdonald in the case of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia and Dr. G.W.Parmelee, Secretary of the Protestant Committee in Quebec, or else from the persuasiveness of arguments demonstrating the advantages of multi-roomed schools over the "little red schoolhouse." But even in the western provinces where the pace of consolidation was more rapid than elsewhere, resistance to large units in Saskatchewan and Manitoba has slowed the attainment of the same degree of consolidation found in Alberta and British Columbia. [4]

The success of school consolidation in British Columbia seems worthy of special notice. While it is true that Dr. George M.Weir, as Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education from 1933 to 1941, and the Cameron Report of 1945, played prominent roles in expediting consolidation and centralization, there was at least one other factor, perhaps peculiar to British Columbia, which markedly assisted these developments. We are thinking of the essential urban nature of B.C. society. According to the 1961 census,

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[2] *Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia,* 1867, p.30.

[3] Included in its membership are The National Union of Christian Schools (District 12), The Independent Schools Association of British Columbia, The Catholic Schools of British Columbia, and representatives of other denominational groups that operate independent schools: Mennonite, Lutheran, Jewish and Reformed. For details of the Federation's requests see *Brief of the Federation of Independent School Associations of British Columbia to the Legislative Assembly,* January, 1968.

[4] See M.R.Lupul, "Education in Western Canada," *Comparative Education Review,* June, 1967, pp. 144-159.

79 percent of British Columbia's population was living in cities and towns.[5] This predominance of urban or urban-like population has been present at least since the turn of the century. Census figures were in the past somewhat deceiving in this regard. The mining town of Britannia, north of Vancouver, for example, would be classified as rural, but the inhabitants were actually concentrated in a close-knit community at the head of the mine-shaft. Likewise in the case of the forestry and lumbering industry, families were often settled in small communities possessing essentially urban rather than rural characteristics. Moreover in many interior communities, such as Nelson, Rossland, and Revelstoke, geographic isolation contributed to strong community feeling.

Thus it is not surprising that despite the relatively underdeveloped nature of the interior of the province by the turn of the century, nine up-country communities opened high schools between 1901 and 1905, namely Nelson, Rossland, Vernon, Cumberland, Kamloops, Revelstoke, Grand Forks, Chilliwack and Kaslo. It is noteworthy that such developments took place prior to the concerted building of roads and highways in the province, which did not begin until the 1920's. The presence of this network of roads helps, of course, to explain the boost given to school consolidation in the 1930's. While not attempting to deny the existence of truly rural areas in British Columbia,[6] such as the Peace River, Okanagan, and Fraser Valley regions, the suggestion is that because the bulk of the province's inhabitants were living in cities or towns they were much more amenable to the notion of school consolidation than were the inhabitants of Saskatchewan and Manitoba whose citizens at the same time were to be found most often in isolated rural settings.

Large Units of Administration

A topic related to school consolidation is the creation of large units of administration by the consolidation of two or more school districts. Perhaps the greatest impulse in this direction was given by the Depression of the 1930's. In the financial straits in which many school districts found themselves at that time they were ready to listen to any proposal which would effect economies and produce tax dollars. In British Columbia a 1934 report by H.B.King on school finance recommended complete provincial support of education and the elimination of small administrative units. The new Minister of Education in the Pattulo Government, Dr. George M.Weir, spearheaded the movement favouring larger units of administration. An important experiment with a large unit was tried in 1934 in the Peace River area. Corresponding in many ways to the Alberta experiment somewhat earlier in the Turner Valley, the Peace River case provided a gratifying example to the Minister and his officials. As F.H.Johnson points out this region was given "good elementary and secondary school systems at an actual saving over what it would have cost to operate the numerous inefficient small school districts."[7]

[5] *Census of Canada 1961* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961), Bulletin 1, 1-7, p.12-I.

[6] Only about 2 per cent of British Columbia is composed of arable land.

[7] F.H.Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1968),p.113.

Although Alberta began in 1937 to reorganize its small school districts into large units, British Columbia was the first province to do so in a concerted, province-wide fashion. The impetus here came from the Cameron Report, presented to the B.C. Government in 1945. The report recommended the creation of seventy-four units, each large enough to provide adequate schooling at both the elementary and secondary levels. The basis or organization chosen was not the county as later adopted in Alberta and Ontario but suitable geographic or economic boundaries. Once again the influence of geography on B.C.'s educational system is apparent.

The Junior High School

The case of the junior high school provides a clear example of American influence. American educators became increasingly aware of the concept of adolescence following the publication of G.Stanley Hall's Adolescence[8] in 1904. Hall, the first holder of an American Ph.D. degree in psychology, took up the cause of adolescents. He decried the way in which for the sake of "efficiency" the school as an institution was given more attention than the individual who was made subordinate to it.

Soon efforts were made to break the abrupt transition between elementary and secondary schools and, more importantly, to cater to thirteen and fourteen-year-olds who had different interests from those of younger students and whose interests were not being met by the eight-grade elementary school. The answer was the junior high school. It would provide a convenient stepping stone between the elementary and high schools and by offering a broad and elastic curriculum, meet adolescents' individual needs.

The first junior high schools in Canada appeared in Edmonton, Calgary, and Winnipeg. The first widespread adoption of the idea occurred, however, in British Columbia. Here the guidelines were set forth in the Putman-Weir Report of 1925, which emphasized adolescents' individual needs as follows:

> The work of the school is not to attempt to make all alike, but to develop each in accord with his natural talent. This individual development implies for its fulfilment a rich and varied curriculum content.[9]

The report went on to recommend the replacement of the current 8:3 system by a 6:3:3 system denoted as elementary, junior high school and senior high school.

The success of the junior high school was not questioned in B.C. but its expansion was curbed by the Depression. To avoid expenditure on new buildings, boards often adopted either an 8:4 or a 6:6 system. In a few cases new schools were built to accommodate all twelve grades in one school. Today one notes only a slight variation from the Putman-Weir proposal. Following a recommendation of the Chant Commission in 1960 a 7:3:2 or 7:3:3 system has been generally adopted.

The Composite High School

By the mid-1920's in British Columbia there was already a growing desire to reduce the number of drop-outs from the province's high schools. As early as 1914 the Department of Education appointed John Kyle as provincial organizer of Technical

[8] *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education* (New York, 1904), 2 vols.

[9] Putman, J.H. and Weir, G.M., *Survey of the School System*, Victoria: King's Printer, 1925.

Education. Among his duties was responsibility for the establishment of technical education centres. In his first report in 1915 he raised the hope that technical or vocational schools might be a deterrent to the increasing of the number of dropouts from the regular day school. Kyle sought an integrated technical programme "to meet the demands of a group of boys and girls in the elementary schools who have reached the age of fourteen and over, and who have not been promoted to the high school entrance class." [10]

With the concept of vocational education firmly established, even prior to the federal Technical Education Act of 1919, it is interesting to note by the 1920's the growing interest in composite high schools. Such schools, on the American pattern, were to offer a variety of programmes including vocational. To satisfy students' needs and interests in much the same way as the National Education Association's "Seven Cardinal Principles" had suggested, new educational paths had to be opened. The early emphasis on academic training in B.C. high schools had to be drastically altered. That emphasis, to quote an 1887 report, was on "the mental discipline" that the curriculum afforded "without regard to any direct or practical use that may be obtained in the matter of earning a living."[11] Such an aim was far from the concept of the composite school.

In 1929-30 the Department of Education took a first step in the direction of composite schools by establishing the principle that high school graduation might be obtained in either of two ways: through a terminal "General Programme" or through a "University Programme" which would be academically oriented and prepare only for university entrance. To the General Programme were gradually added the components of vocational education. Widespread popular acceptance of this programme, however, was never fully realized. Parents still held out the hope of getting their child enrolled in the more prestigious University Programme. Consequently as late as 1958 fully 70 per cent of all high school students were following the University Programme.[12]

The next major change in student streaming did not occur until 1965 when, following close on the heels of the Chant Royal Commission on Education (1960), a completely revised secondary curriculum was announced. The original two-track system became a five-track one: an academic-technical one for admission to university, and four others – commercial, industrial, community services, and the visual and performing arts. Because of the expense involved and the need for a large composite school to encompass all streams, some of the programmes remained only on paper. Parental preference for university-bound over non-university-bound courses remained a continuing problem hampering the smooth functioning of the new multi-track system. In Vancouver, for example, by 1967, 65 per cent of its 8,723 secondary school students were enrolled in the straight academic programme, despite the availability of all of the other streams. One mother, when told that her child should enter the occupational programme, exclaimed, "My boy can't go on to the general program, we live in British Properties." [13]

[10] British Columbia, Department of Education, *Public Schools Annual Report,* 1917, p.82.

[11] *Ibid.,* 1887, p.212.

[12] British Columbia, *Report of The Royal Commission on Education* (Chant Report), 1960, p. 244.

[13] W.Bennett, "A Dream Dies Hard: Vocational Education Crashes Old Barriers," *The Vancouver Sun,* March 1, 1967. p. 6.

MINORITY EDUCATION: DOUKHOBORS AND JAPANESE-CANADIANS

British Columbia's treatment of two minorities – the Doukhobors and the Japanese-Canadians – comprises a disturbing chapter in the educational annals of the province. In the one instance, it is a record of the forcible impression of the public system on an uncompromising and non-conformist immigrant sect; in the other case it is an account of the short-lived but successful attempt to exclude an ethnic group from the legitimate and traditional processes of public education. The story of the Doukhobors' resistance to compulsory education is rather well-known, partly because such sensational demonstrations as nude parades and periodic school burnings aroused public attention. The Japanese experience, by contrast, has received relatively little publicity. A brief examination of the issues and problems that involved the education of these two ethnic groups may help revise some of the assumptions that are generally made about B.C.'s public education system.

For the past sixty years the Doukhobors have been the central figures in a long-standing dispute with B.C.'s Department of Education over compulsory education laws.[14] Since their arrival from Saskatchewan in 1910 the radical left-wing of the Doukhobors known as the Sons of Freedom (Freedomites) had ignored the B.C. Government's compulsory attendance regulations. While the majority Orthodox and Independent Doukhobors attempted to live as law abiding citizens, the extremist Sons of Freedom chose not to send their children to school, as a protest supporting their objection to provincial laws requiring the registration of births, deaths, and marriages. Moreover because of their communal life many members of the sect feared the alien indoctrination their children would receive in the public schools.

As provincial authorities sought to enforce school attendance laws, the Freedomites turned to acts of destruction to dramatize their cause. Nude parades, bombings, and arson, particularly of schools, became their stock in trade. In the face of such defiance, by June 1932 the government had jailed almost six hundred Freedomites. This action resulted in hundreds of children coming under the custodial care of the provincial government with consequent embarrassment to the authorities. By 1940, the Sons of Freedom were still a minority, but their influence was far from spent.

Two important inquiries – The Cameron Commission on School Finance (1945) and a Royal Commission of investigation (1947) – pointed the way toward an eventual solution of the Doukhobor problem. The Cameron Report recommended larger school districts and the complete assimilation of Doukhobor schools. Mr. Justice H.J.Sullivan, who jeaded the Royal Commission, emphatically supported this recommendation. The previous practice of having small, isolated schools in Doukhobor settlements, he argued, made it difficult to guard against arson, to attract capable teachers, or to provide the academic, cultural, and recreational facilities of the larger schools. Commissioner Sullivan correctly foresaw that distrust and suspicion could only be overcome through a programme of education in which Doukhobors could mingle freely with other Canadians.

Freedomites continued, however, to protest what they saw as insidious government efforts to destroy their way of life, even though by this date the old communal system was no longer operative. Acts of defiance were numerous: the Sons of Freedom burned some four hundred buildings in 1953, mostly their own homes, and bombed railroads and bridges. The climax came with another mass nude parade in the Slocan Valley in September, 1953, which resulted in the arrest of 144 Freedomites. The government placed their schoolage children under the care of the Provincial Department of Health and Welfare and housed them in an unused sanitarium in New Denver. For the next six years these children attended the regular New Denver School and were allowed only weekend visits from their parents. In 1959 the Freedomite parents formally gave assurances to the authorities that they would henceforth abide by the laws. The children were withdrawn from the New Denver dormitory and duly enrolled in the regular schools in their own communities.

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[14] The discussion of the Doukhobor question is based largely on F.Henry Johnson's "The Doukhobors of British Columbia: The History of Sectarian Problem in Education," *Queen's Quarterly* LXX No. 4 (Winter, 1964), 528-541.

At long last the great majority of the Doukhobors had acknowledged the futility of disobeying the law. In their recent book on the Doukhobors, George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic tell us that the children of Krestova, once the Sons of Freedom stronghold, have a better school record than that of the non-Doukhobor children in the neighbourhood.[15] The price of compliance was some loss of identity at least in the sense that old ideals and traditions were severely compromised by the adoption of new values imposed by the dominant cultural groups in the province.

It is ironic that the educational discrimination directed against the Japanese-Canadians during World War II should have been acted out against the same backdrop of the Kootenays where the Doukhobors fought their losing battle. The decision to relocate the Japanese, some of whom had fought in the Canadian forces in the First World War, in the comparative isolation of such communities as New Denver, Slocan City, Kaslo, and Greenwood was dictated ostensibly for reasons of national security – a convenient rationale in the post-Pearl Harbour period. For the five years from 1941 to 1946 the Japanese, most of whom were Canadian citizens, were deliberately denied the benefits of public education that had been so stringently enforced upon the Doukhobors. Although the provincial Department of Education has had very little to say about this matter, a number of other official sources throw a revealing light on the circumstances of the treatment accorded the Japanese.

Prior to World War II, the Japanese "problem" in Canada had always been British Columbia's problem. The extent to which this was true is revealed in a 1940 inquiry on the Orientals in Canada headed by H.L. Keenleyside.[16] The Committee noted that of the 25,000 Japanese in Canada, some 23,000 resided in B.C., where they comprised just over three per cent of the population. The report indicated that well over half were Canadian citizens, either by birth or through naturalization. Of the 23,000, 16,600 lived in the Vancouver-Steveston-Fraser delta area, with another 3,500 on Vancouver Island. The Committee's terms of reference were specifically concerned with internal security and the issue of military service but it found that "the greatest potential source of danger is not disloyalty on the part of the Japanese. . .but the animosity of white Canadians against the Japanese in general." [17]

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[15] Woodcock, George and Avakumovic, Ivan, *The Doukhobors*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 355.

[16] H.L.Keenleyside, *Special Committee on Orientals in Canada Report and Recommendations.* (Ottawa, December, 1940) p. 8. The Japanese "problem" in the pre-war period was simply that they represented an alleged economic threat to white fishermen and truck gardeners. Despite the fact that the high point of Japanese immigration was the first decade of the century, the cry of the "Yellow Peril" continued to be sounded at regular intervals. For figures on Japanese immigration showing that the stream had virtually dried up between 1910 and 1925, see *British Columbia Public Service Bulletin* vol. 1 no. 4 (September, 1925).

When the decision was made in 1942 to remove the Japanese from the coastal areas the British Columbia Security Commission was established to undertake the task. [18] Altogether some 17,517 Japanese were resettled, with a considerable number going to Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario. But the majority were taken to the Kootenays, including approximately 4,000 children of elementary school age. [19] That the B.C.Security Commission had anticipated no problem with their schooling is made clear in their report:

> It was felt that in the case of the children who had attended school in British Columbia and were now merely shifted to another section of the same Province, the Provincial Department of Education should assume a share of their continuing education. No agreement could be reached, however, as the Provincial Department refused to accept any responsibility or to be liable for any part of the cost of educating these children. The Commission was, therefore, obliged to make other plans and accordingly arranged for the purchase of correspondence courses, together with the necessary text books for elementary grades, from the Provincial Department of Education. [20]

In the circumstances, the Security Commission set up separate school centres (nine in all in the interior), obtained such Japanese "teachers" as were available, and gave some kind of instruction to prospective instructors in the school centres. The Department of Education's *Annual Report* (1942-43) on the public schools in the province significantly makes no acknowledgment of the unusual situation that existed in the Kootenays except cryptically to record that a "large number of correspondence lessons were sold to the British Columbia Security Commission to be used as a guide in teaching the Japanese children living in the centres. . ." [21]

There can be no question that the kind of education received by the Japanese was haphazard at best and, by normal provincial standards, grossly inadequate. A federal Department of Labour *Report on the Administration of Japanese Affairs in Canada*

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[17] *Keenleyside*, p. 12.

[18] For a discussion of the wartime evacuation of Japanese Americans, see Harry.H.L.Kitano, *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), ch.3. For a collection of documents relative to the Canadian episode, see Patricia Roy, "The Evacuation of the Japanese, 1942" in J.M.Bumsted (ed.) *Documentary Problems in Canadian History: Post Confederation* (Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey, 1969).

[19] Department of Labour, *Report of British Columbia Security Commission Removal of Japanese From Protected Areas* (Ottawa, 1942), p.2.

[20] *Ibid.*, p.14.

[21] *Seventy-Second Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia 1942-43* (Victoria, B.C.: Charles F. Banfield, 1944), p. 93. Hereafter referred to as *Annual Report.*

1942-1944, asserted that "the fundamental weakness of the Commission schools is the lack of association of these Japanese-Canadian children with Canadian children of British and other racial origins. A secondary defect is the home influence of the parents, who in many cases speak little English. . . ." [22] The Report further disclosed that children who wished to proceed beyond elementary school had to attend the Roman Catholic Mission school in Greenwood, presumably without even the assistance of the Security Commission.

The findings of the Department of Labour were confirmed by a subsequent Royal Commission inquiry in 1944 which described teaching by the missionaries as being on a voluntary basis in their own premises and asserted that no real provision was being made for either kindergarten or high school instruction. [23] Private reports and investigation put the facts of educational discrimination in even stronger terms. A consultative committee composed of concerned Vancouver citizens and headed by Howard Norman revealed that the financial burden for education was itself an intolerable one for many of the Japanese:

> The children have been the greatest sufferers. . .Educational facilities have been inadequate and in some cases unbearably expensive. In Grand Forks, for instance, the Japanese were at first denied admittance to the local school. Later they were admitted on the payment of fees. From 1944 the financial assistance lent by the British Columbia Security Commission was withdrawn, and the fee has been $5.00 per child per month. If the fee were overdue, the child was not allowed back. One father had four children and had to pay $20.00 monthly. . . .Neither the provincial nor federal government has assumed responsibility for secondary education. [24]

One investigator who studied the psychological and social characteristics of the evacuated children described the learning situation in the relocation school centres as an "atmosphere of hostility" engendered by factional disputes between parents and young, immature and poorly-trained teachers: "The teachers are all Canadian-born Japanese most of whom have had no normal school training. . .[they] have to struggle against a situation in which they have no prestige and practically no influence based on teaching techniques. Parents insist upon the use of Japanese as much as possible. . ." [25] It should be noted that the question of teaching or insisting on the use of Japanese was an old one in the Japanese community in the years before the war. At one time a total of forty Japanese language schools were in operation chiefly in the Vancouver area and some friction existed between generations over this issue. [26]

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[22] Department of Labour, *Report on The Administration of Japanese Affairs in Canada 1942-44.* (Ottawa, 1944), p.16.

[23] *Department of Labour, Report Royal Commission to Inquire Into the Provisions Made for the Welfare of Persons of the Japanese Race Resident in Settlements in the Province of British Columbia* (Vancouver, 1944) p. 10

[24] Howard Norman, *What About the Japanese Canadians?* (Vancouver: Wrigley Printing Company Ltd., 1945) pp. 19-20

[25] Forrest E.La Violette, "Social Psychological Characteristics of Evacuated Japanese," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* XI No.3 (August, 1945) p. 430.

[26] *Report on the Survey of The Second Generation Japanese in British Columbia* (Vancouver: The Canadian Japanese Association, 1935), *passim.*

Finally, a comparison by one scholar of the contrasting treatment accorded Japanese evacuees by Canadian and American authorities singles out iniquities in educational plans as the most damning indictment of the Canadians:

> No area of discrimination was more keenly felt by the Canadian Nisei than the failure of either the provincial or federal governments to provide adequate educational facilities within the relocation centres. Elementary schools were opened in makeshift quarters and with almost wholly inexperienced Nisei teachers. No provisions for high school training were made although in 1944 volunteer high school teachers were sent to Interior Housing Centres by Anglican and United Churches of Canada. At Tashme, instruction was given in the elementary school after 4:00 p.m. under difficult conditions.[27]

The writer noted that one of the "prerequisites" for obtaining a teaching job in the relocation centre of Tashme involved signing a repatriation paper guaranteeing that the applicant would return to Japan once the war was over.[28] Even though all the Japanese at Tashme were scheduled to return to Japan after the war, over ninety students there elected to continue in school during the war years rather than work for wages, so strong was the assimilative drive among these evacuees.

In summary, it seems apparent that the Japanese were the victims of an unusually harsh form of discrimination. Despite their parents' removal from any likelihood of committing subversive acts or sabotage, the children were forced by the ruling authorities to do penance for simply being Japanese. While no evidence can be cited at the moment, it seems reasonable to surmise that many Japanese who "survived" the relocation schools to become successful citizens were left with a feeling of bitterness over the treatment they received during this period.[29] No account can be found to indicate when these students slipped back into the regular system but there is a clue in the figures given in the *Annual Report* on correspondence course enrolments. In 1942-43 there were 155; in 1944-45 this had increased to 249 and subsided to 136 in the following year.[30] It is probably safe to assume that the decline coincided with the end of the wartime conditions and the return to normal times, thus closing out a shocking episode in the history of public education in the province.

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[27] Robert W.O'Brien, "Evacuation of Japanese From the Pacific Coast: Canadian and American Contrasts," *Research Studies State College of Washington* XIV (1946) p.116.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] For a poetic account of the uprooting of the Japanese, see "Call my People Home" in Dorothy Livesay, *The Documentaries* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1968), pp. 31-48.

[30] *Annual Report*. For 1942-43, see p. 93; for 1944-45, p. 109; for 1945-46, pp.106-7.

IV

CHARACTERISTICS IN ONTARIO

By Cornelius J.Jaenen
University of Ottawa.

I feel greatly honoured to be asked to prepare this paper on the unique characteristics of education in Ontario. In coming to this great ceremonial tribal gathering, I propose to employ the appropriate tribal language for in-group communication, to demonstrate at least some characteristic in-group behaviour, and even to reflect some of the in-group's suspicion of the out-group. In other words, I am very conscious that I am with my own tribe this afternoon!

For the purposes of this paper I am taking "unique characteristics" to mean characteristics that historically and currently make education in Ontario distinctive, or different from education in other areas. I am taking "education" to mean schooling – although I am very much of the opinion that we have much more schooling, which has been compulsory since 1871, than actual education because the two terms, to my mind, are not synonymous. Therefore, "education in Ontario" becomes translated into something like the institutionalized process of shaping behaviour in specific groups of people in a planned and goal-directed manner. How is that for tribal language?

Many would say that the most unique quality of education in Ontario is its financial enormity, its budgetary immensity. The situation today has few similarities to the state of affairs obtaining in 1850 when municipal councils became responsible for levying taxes for schools. One of the grave problems facing Ontario residents is that of mounting education costs – prompting a Ciceronian cry in some quarters that never was so much paid by so many for so little. Dr. Frank Underhill suggested some years ago that what was really wrong with the system was its

> ". . .domination by a native interlocking directorate of orthodox bureaucrats in the provincial departments of education and expounders of orthodox doctrines in the colleges of education."

He added that what needs to be attacked

> ". . .is not the philosophy of these men but their power."

Certainly in this respect Ontario is not unique – the centralization of power which began in 1876 and the near impossibility of appeal to disinterested and well-informed panels from arbitrary decisions resembles closely the situation in other provinces and indeed that prevailing in the entire top-heavy administrative bureaucracy characteristic of modern democracies and dictatorships. Closely related to the problems of increasing costs and *ever*-expanding (you will please note my use of the appropriate tribal language here) programmes are questions of local financing, local control and regional re-grouping.

My first observation about Ontario education I would couch in somewhat different terms however.

Ontario's educational problem is by nature akin to the dilemma facing other educational systems, unique in Canada perhaps only because it is more acute here as this province is in the vanguard of national development. Knowledge increases but understanding diminishes – that is the dilemma of our age. From the organizational point of view man is increasingly subordinated to the mass, the collectivity, the monolith – the cry for participation is a revolt against this trend which is not peculiar to Ontario by any means but which is especially evident here. The danger which we fear in Ontario is that because ours may be the most orderly educational province so our educational system becomes a machine and the more efficient this machine becomes the less significant the role of human beings. Our educational machine has no less than 50 curriculum committees, its own information or propaganda office, an Education Data Centre and even a foreign aid programme with cultural accords about which the press has been strangely silent. In the light of this observation I believe the liberation of teachers and students from the single textbook, the lowest-common-denominator centralized examination, the uniform curriculum, the lock-step grade system mark extremely significant and encouraging counteractive measures.

Secondly, it would appear to me that Ontario schools in general, with some notable exceptions, achieve no more adequately from the intellectual standpoint in 13 years than most other continental school systems achieve in 12 years! They succeed in keeping some "underendowed" teenagers off the labour market by a three-stream system and win the general acclaim of being "democratic" and "progressive" for so doing. Their aim is beyond doubt status placement and job oriented. Their philosophy, insofar as it may be said to operate, is confused with immediate short-term objectives. My impression is that in the Ontario pattern of multi-stream high school training it is difficult for students to change streams once embarked and that a decision – a highly important choice – regarding a future career is required much earlier than students are capable of reasonably making. These are problems of all streaming processes. I fear something graver, however – that is that the systems merely streams off in many cases a large number of "poor performers," who nevertheless may be high-potential people, into some simple routine skills which are bound to become obsolete rather rapidly, and so leaves these people with little to show for the taxpayers' investment in their education. I am deeply disturbed by the practice in this province, although it may not be the official philosophy or credo of the governing hierarchy, of giving the youth who do not fit the narrow academic route superficial occupational skills because these are the very people who should be getting a sound training in language, in scientific principles, in mathematical concepts, in national history and the working of democratic society if for no other reason than they are going to be early practitioners! Skills of mathematics, science, reading charts and maps, etc. underpin all continuing study and learning, but the occupational skills do not. I may be wrong, but I have some impression that there are more "forced outs" than "drop outs" in the present system and that some by being directed to low-level vocational courses in the 44 special vocational schools are kept off welfare for a few decades. But the historian who deals with the past can also allow himself the occasional glance ahead, where I am afraid I would see these same people coming onto welfare just when at their prime, established with families to support. It seems to me that instead of remedying defects in the nineteenth century educational system a proliferation of routes could simply complicate inherent deficiencies.

Thirdly, it should not be forgotten that a large proportion of Canada's economic and other élites are Ontario-educated. But I should add that a good proportion of the élite, as defined by John Porter, are not products of the Ontario public schools, much less of

Ontario's second stream of special public schools, the separate school system. Thus when we evaluate the impact of an educational system on the national scene we should not forget that one of the most significant contributions to Canadian intellectual and economic life comes from the independent private schools in the province, not the public school systems. This is a sobering thought for the partisans of mass democratic education and those enthusiasts who view Ontario's past history as achieving universal accessibility to elementary and secondary education and who work for universal accessibility to post-secondary education in the next decades. Let us not confuse numbers with influence, or statistics with social realities. The Minister's annual statistical report may simply be worth the paper it is printed on.

Fourthly, it should be remembered that regional disparity is not just a pan-Canadian problem – it is also a provincial problem. There is just as great regional disparity in edu cational opportunity and output between the several regions of Ontario as between the diverse regions of Canada. I was looking at a map of Educational Levels recently and noted the great differences in opportunity, achievement and intellectual vigour between say counties in south-western Ontario and such under-developed regions as Russell-Prescott in the east, the entire northern area running from Renfrew to North Bay and Timmins and westwards to the Manitoba border. An incidental thought to this regional inequality, and consequent need for enriched programmes and incentive provisions for educationally poverty-stricken areas, was the confirmation of my longstanding conviction that part of the problem of our minority groups in Canada is that many (e.g. French-Canadians, Indians, Métis, Negroes) are "have-not" minorities, inhabitants of marginal subsistence areas, the culturally disadvantaged. It does not seem to me that the special legislative grants for northern assistance or the Northern Corps of teachers are as yet making what can be called an impact.

Fifthly, Ontario gave birth to a unique solution to a democratic dilemma – the attempt to reconcile majority rule with minority rights. I refer, of course, to the separate school system within the framework of a politically unified public common school system. Historically, the separate schools of Upper Canada and Canada West were established to provide distinctive school systems for "classes of persons," as the nineteenth century lawyers insisted on calling them, identifiable by race, language and creed. Consequently, before Confederation there were in what became Ontario racial "separate schools" for Negroes and Indians, linguistic separate schools for French, German Gaelic and Algonkian-speaking students, "denominational" separate schools for Catholics and Protestants (although this dualistic approach should more properly be called confessional, not denominational). The term "separate schools" came to be employed politically to denote special public schools of a Catholic character, although statutory provisions remained also for Protestant separate schools and indeed one such school district still exists. Section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867 afforded protection for the "denominational" quality of public education which a "class of persons" had by law at the time of Union. Politicians have repeated the misconception that the B.N.A.Act "protected" the religious or confessional minority – historically, the B.N.A. Act perpetuated in Ontario a system of closely circumscribed alternative organization of education (without any possibility of alternative educational experience, curriculum, philosophy of education since the centralized W.A.S.P.-dominated Department of Education controlled both systems in contrast to Quebec where each confessional system was completely autonomous and free of majoritarian political decisions). It perpetuated a system which had in a sense been imposed by Lower Canadian Protestant and Catholic votes which provided the needed majority for the original statute creating this province's separate school system. The B.N.A.Act froze existing rights in 1867, if the negligible concessions existing at that time in Ontario compared to the full-fledged rights then existing for the Protestant minority in Quebec can be called "rights." It in effect condemned Ontario Catholics to a segregated, second-rate and distinctly inferior school system at the mercy of a majority which had some reasons to dislike them and which in the ensuing century (unlike the more enlightened majorities in Alberta and Saskatchewan) refused to grant either possibilities or incentives to improve, expand or contribute fully to the common system. I can only view as disastrous, irrational and anti-intellectual – plain stupid and bigoted if you wish plainer language – the Ontario system of public and separate schools where public schools cannot be comprehensive enough to allow a Catholic-oriented stream within it, and where separate schools cannot be financially, politically and philosophically free enough to permit a truly alternative stream of public education healthy to a democratic society where uniformity is shunned, an additive component to our total educational picture rather than a persecuted and segregated minority suffering prejudicial discrimination. Ontario is unique in that while legally recognizing our historic co-operation between church and state, which is a fundamental characteristic of the British tradition as opposed to the American version, the administrative and social milieu denies most possibilities for the minority group to contribute as significantly as it would like to, as effectively as the majority insists it ought to, and as constructively as I say it must if Ontario is really interested in intellectual excellence, in human rights and the development of its human resources, in building a better Canada.

I am no prophet when it comes to foreseeing the role of the separate schools in Ontario. This much I can say – legally they are virtually untouchable, although a few cut-backs in present privileges could legally be made, because their 1867 provincial and municipal rights are "frozen" by the Imperial sections of the partially patriated Canadian federal constitution. Several historical developments could result in substantial changes from within, however. I refer specifically to the changes in Catholic thought and practice – the ecumenical spirit, the new questioning spirit, and events such as a recent Carnegie Foundation sponsored survey into the relationship between religiosity and parochial school education in some Eastern American regions. This survey concluded that there was little or no direct causal relationship between a child's attending a Catholic school and growing up to be a fervent Catholic; instead the only significant relationship seemed to be that fervent parents and a devout total Catholic environment resulted in parents sending their children to parochial schools if they could afford to do so. I refer also to the development of French high schools in the public sector in Ontario and the possibility of a clearer distinction in future between language and religion, between a French education and a Catholic-oriented institution. Historically, as you all know, many Franco-Ontarians employed the separate school system, created to provide a religious milieu, to obtain French instruction for their children. One of the results of this device, of which I am well aware in my role as a professor at the bilingual University of Ottawa, is that using a second-rate educational system to provide instruction in French does not produce the best prepared francophone students. What I deplore is that considerations of language and religion have eclipsed considerations of intellect and excellence and by becoming political issues in the past, Ontario education has been robbed of the full contribution language and religion could have made to the total output.

Sixthly, Ontario is unique in that it is now establishing what may become parallel English and French public education from kindergarten to university graduate work. Bilingualism will become a social reality and not remain a mere constitutional ideal. Perhaps this is historic justice since the French, not the English charter group, operated the first school to receive British governmental support after the Conquest, which guaran- Indian mission school, was the French school at Fort Frontenac opened in 1676 The first school to receive British governmental support after the Conquest, which guaranteed among other things French civil rights, was the school run by Misses Adhémard and Papineau at Sandwich in 1786. French instruction in Ontario will shortly be able to celebrate its tercentennial, in other words, and will be able to claim that it has been continuous although no institutions with an unbroken continuity from those earliest times now exist. The Acts of 1807 and 1816 left a legal vacuum so far as language of instruction was concerned; the legislation of 1885 (provision for so-called "bilingual schools" was a device gradually to impose English until a unilingual situation obtained) and Regulation XVII recognized the legal status of French instruction; the Circular of 1928 seems to have taken Ontario back to the legal vacuum situation existing before 1885. The present government has done much not only to clarify the legal status of French as a language of instruction for approximately 100,000 francophone students but also to implement the constitutional, statutory and regulatory provisions for bilingualism.

Seventhly, Ontario education is unique in the sense that more money is spent here on education than anywhere else in Canada. Many teachers have followed the salary schedules to Ontario but for all that there is neither guarantee nor evidence that Ontario has the best teachers in Canada or the best educational output per dollar input. There is still need for better-motivated teachers and a universally accepted philosophy of education. To be feared are purposeless innovation and undirected experimentation because the objectives are not understood. With more liberty and academic freedom there is danger of lack of cohesion of programmes and lack of unity of efforts to achieve commonly accepted objectives or goals. Society today is characterized, in my understanding of things, not just by violence, confrontation, sensationalism and sensualism, rejection of traditionalism and a search for new ideals, but also essentially by a lack of any cohesive conceptual framework and consequently by absence of purposeful direction and meaningful goals. One of my impressions, though one must remember impressions are not documented evidence, about Ontario education is that in a province so institutionally structured, so affluent in Canadian terms, the attitudes and practices are almost as non-intellectual, indeed, occasionally they are anti-intellectual, as in the depressed areas with which I had been more familiar.

These comments about teachers, educational goals and practices lead me to observe that in an age of social malaise, lunar and lunatic exploration, indiscriminate dissemination of information on everything from birth control to sadism, what is required of a public school system is not more permissiveness but rather a goal-defining, security-imparting social and moral orientation and intellectual guidance. The school is a minority force in education – if you don't believe me when I say that, perhaps you will accept more readily Marshall McLuhan's statement that students are bombarded with more information that is relevant to them outside school than in school. The school, as a minority educational factor compared to the influence of the peer group, the kin group and mass communication media, should *not* accommodate itself to every social influence that makes itself-felt – on the contrary, it often needs to counteract and oppose some social forces in order to provide a proper balance, an equilibrium, a system of values and ideals for our youth. For example, there was a time when certain public schools thought it their duty in the cause of social adjustment to encourage 11-and12-year olds to participate in school-run dances. It would probably have been more socially useful to have directed the attentions of these pre-teenagers away from this precocious behaviour to participatory sports, community projects and some really challenging intellectual assignments. Too many teenagers lead socially active and intellectually inactive lives. The schools' job, I should think, is to provide some adjustment. There are already far too many forces in society influencing these very young people to engage prematurely in adult behaviour: the school instead of encouraging such behaviour should provide a counterbalancing experience to detract from the influences of such forces in society.

If I read and understand the Hall-Dennis Report correctly it calls not for greater permissiveness as is so often suggested it does, but rather it calls for social orientation. Permissiveness, the "open" society, the option-oriented approach – these trends which can be defended intellectually and emotionally may liberate our students and our teachers. But I ask myself, liberate them from what? – to become the slaves of what else? In setting them free from certain traditional ways of doing things we do not necessarily liberate their minds in the sense of setting them free to create. On the contrary, and student protests everywhere attest this, we have succeeded in developing a critical spirit without in many cases developing a creative responsibility. If this has been more evident at the university level than at the high school level it is because the university as an institution is even more conservative and out-dated in some respects than the public school system. I see a paradox in our eduational approach – unfortunately I cannot say to you that I have an instantaneous solution to our problem. In our rapidly changing society old values, old methods, old objectives seem inadequate, and are challenged, and we are forced to accept a permissive approach. But, and here is the paradox, permissiveness appears the least effective means to develop a sense of responsibility, to encourage creativity. I know some of you will say that permissiveness enables us to be our real selves, to express ourselves in an uninhibited way, to be truly original. The problem may be that our "real selves" are somewhat anti-social, sometimes destructive, nearly always disorderly, chaotic and deeply disturbed unless we have very definite guidelines to steer by. I am very conservative when it comes to the evaluation of human nature. There is nothing in the course of history to indicate an evolution or genetic progression in the basic qualities of human nature. But I am also an optimistic conservative, in the sense that Saint Exupéry was, when he wrote in *Pilote de Guerre*: "Men attain greatness when they are joined together in the search for a goal which goes beyond self, beyond the satisfaction of personal desire."

One of the most encouraging views an educationalist, and educator too for that matter, can adopt is that the educational system requires continual study and adaptation to social change. This is what I have been talking about. To provide orientation today, I believe, we must very often be prepared to assume negative positions, opposing stands and counteractive measures. Permissiveness functions in a socially secure situation where the guidelines are clearly understood and respected, where the limits are well-known, where the objectives are accepted and attainable.

I know you expect me to say something about A.B.Hodgett's *What Culture? What Heritage?* (Toronto, 1968) and the indictment of the teaching of history and civics in our schools. All I care to say is that since my children have transferred to Ontario schools it is a miracle if they acquire there any concept of what Canada is and what their civic responsibilities will be. Incidentally, and perhaps symbolically, they are even forgetting the words of *O Canada,* having no opportunity to sing it in schools, and I had expected that in coming east they might even learn the original French version.

Ontario education is still unique insofar as it still differentiates between vocational training and academic training. I do not for a moment believe that anything I would say about our job-training and life-adjustment type of education would alter anything. Trying to change an educational system is like moving a cemetery. You never know how many friends the dead still have until you try it! I do feel compelled, nevertheless, to say that vocational training and intellectual development are not incompatible partners nor are they mutually exclusive streams. On the contrary, I believe they are complementary, even necessary to each other, for the sound preparation of all our youth whether they proceed from school to a job, to a vocational training experience or to an institution of higher professional training. In this respect I find the educational philosophy of the province outdated and somewhat like some military school experts preparing their charges for the dangers of the day before yesterday! Some Ontario schools are building Maginot lines when they should be concentrating on air power and rapid-strike ground units. If our students must be prepared for jobs let us at least prepare them for the jobs of tomorrow and not those of yesterday or even today.

Paul Goodman in his *Compulsory Mis-Education* informs us that in General Motors' most automated plant it takes three weeks of in-service training to train individuals with no previous technical education, and the armed forces take less than a year to produce competent radar operators and repairmen. No Ontario school can equal that record no matter how much the mill-rates are increased! I read recently that in Ontario s Diversified Occupations course it took three years to learn such skills as janitorial service and meat-cutting. What a waste of public money in extended years of schooling, in equipment, in highly paid instructional staff and sometimes in unnecessarily costly buildings, especially when we know that it can be done more quickly, more economically and more effectively through in-service programmes.

Some years ago a representative of Imperial Oil said publicly:

> Corporations can reasonably quickly provide the specialized and detailed training required for their particular needs if they receive from the school system people who, in addition to any specialized training they have acquired, have built the necessary foundation of knowledge and mental skills. With people so equipped retraining needs dictated by changing technology represents no insuperable problem. Employers can and must provide much of the specialized training, but they are not well equipped to provide the foundation training.

These comments are all the more relevant since the Department of Labour prognosticates that a high school lad receiving a technical education today will have to be re-trained at least six times in a normal life span. The shops of schools, a quaint survival of "frontier days," lack the flexibility, adaptability, technology and money to be really up to date. It would be better to recognize that the English seminar, the Chemistry laboratory and the Mathematics class are the truly "functional" parts of the modern school and that "foundation training," as industrialists call it, means the same foundational learning as all Ontarians require – it means a good general education encompassing plenty of original thought, the mastery of communications skills (especially writing), a depth of understanding of social problems, and especially acquaintance with mathematical principles and scientific concepts which underpin occupational training. I am willing to concede that the syllabuses in this province attempt to provide foundational training as I have described it here and some technical training which will also be useful. But the curriculum is not the syllabus – the syllabus is the road-map and the curriculum is the actual trip. What young Ontarians experience in the schools is not always what the syllabus says it is.

In summary, I would say Ontario is so conscious of its role in an industrial society that education is geared to placement, whereas it is education for intelligence and creativity that is required in the "post-industrial" age. Perhaps you are surprised, perhaps not, that so much of what I have said about educational practice in Ontario is really about finances, institutionalism, organization, and politics, not so much about intellectual movements and concerns. That is because I have to deal with the social realities of the provincial scene not with some ideal of provincial education. There are obviously many laudable aspects of public education in Egerton Ryerson's province which I have been unable to consider with you this afternoon in the time at my disposal. No overview can or should omit mention of the research being carried out in education, the special schools and services, the provincial library services, cultural exchanges, curriculum revision, federal-provincial agreements, and the reorganization of adminsitrative units. I have not told you about audio-visual programmes, the colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, community programs, French language programs, grant structures, supervisory practices, and the internship plan for teachers.

If I have sounded overly critical, that may be to the good. I am concerned about an educational system which, while having avoided Arthur Bestor's fears of what "the curriculum doctors, the integrators, the life adjustors – the specialists in know-how rather than knowledge" would do to it, appears to have hitched its wagon to the star of successful placement of every student. Education should be primarily intellectual – by definition, by practice and by application – and should encourage excellence – including excellence of character and inner life, of imagination and human sensitivity, of creativity. I accepted the invitation to come to speak to you on this subject because I believe the historian has a special role in the study of contemporary social movements, in problems of social change, and especially the measure of influence for directing social change exercised by the public education system. Over the past decade one of the major developments among the social sciences has been the realization that historical studies must provide the laboratory for those questions of change and adaptation not visible in contemporary social data.

May I say also that I hope these remarks will not result in my banishment to the out-group!

DIX ANS DE REFORME SCOLAIRE AU QUEBEC

V

UN BILAN ET UN AVENIR*

par Arthur Tremblay, *Sous-ministre*
Ministère de l'Education du Québec

Introduction

L'objectif principal de cette rencontre sera dans une large part atteint s'il nous est possible, à la suite de la présentation des diverses communications, de comparer les traits caractéristiques actuels des systèmes d'éducation qui se sont développés, suivant des voies adaptées aux situations particulières, dans chacune des dix provinces du Canada. Dans le cas du Québec, préciser uniquement les traits qui identifient le stade où en est présentement rendue l'évolution du système scolaire, ne vous révélerait pas l'importance véritable que revêtent pour les Québecois certaines réalisations tant au plan des structures scolaires qu'à celui des contenus de formation.

Voilà pourquoi mes propos se situeront dans une perspective historique. Après un rappel de la situation de l'enseignement au Québec il y a une dizaine d'années, au moment où déjà s'amorçait une réforme d'envergure, j'aborderai, dans une seconde partie, l'exposé des dimensions majeures du système actuel à la fois au niveau des objectifs qui lui ont été assignés, à celui des politiques qui progressivement ont été traduites en lois et règlements, enfin à celui des programmes et des opérations qui ont été conçus et exécutés.

Première partie: Rappel de la situation initiale et antécédents de la réforme

Section 1 – *L'aménagement institutionnel et les clientèles*

La situation qui prévalait il y a une dizaine d'années, aux divers niveaux d'enseignement, dans les secteurs privé, public ou étatique, était *grosso modo* la suivante.

Au niveau des études élémentaires, il existait un réseau public complet d'écoles à travers toute la province, caractérisé par la multiplicité des petites écoles desservant des territoires restreints, en milieu rural principalement. On dénombrait ainsi plus de 7,000 écoles en 1960/61, où étaient scolarisés 925,000 enfants environ. Le pré-scolaire était par ailleurs pratiquement inexistant dans ce réseau; on y recensait seulement 11,769 élèves la même année. Parallèlement à ce réseau, des écoles privées, en assez grand nombre, regroupaient pour les unes des clientèles privilégiées s'orientant vers des études de type classique, pour les autres des jeunes recevant une formation dispensée dans des pensionnats. La quasi-totalité des jeunes en âge de poursuivre leurs études élémentaires fréquentaient l'école à cette époque; le taux de scolarisation ne descendait pas en bas de 95% pour aucun des groupes d'âge correspondant à ce niveau d'enseignement.[1]

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* This paper, in the absence of the author, was presented most acceptably (in English to suit majority in attendance) by C.W.Dickson, Assistant Deputy Minister of Education of Quebec.

Au niveau secondaire, le réseau public était encore assez inégalement étendu sur l'ensemble du territoire et desservait principalement les régions métropolitaines, les centres urbains et les villages d'une certaine importance. Si on considère, pour l'année 1960/61, le nombre total d'institutions publiques et privées, chez les Catholiques, dispensant l'enseignement de niveau secondaire, on pourrait penser que le Québec était bien pourvu d'écoles secondaires. On comptait, en effet, 2,108 écoles publiques et 363 écoles privées dispensant l'enseignement de ce niveau, mais la moyenne d'élèves par école se situait aux environs de 80 élèves et, de plus, près de 70% de ceux-ci n'avaient pas dépassé leur 9ème année d'études.

Pour être complet, il faut ajouter à ce nombre 400 institutions environ au sein desquelles d'autres jeunes recevaient une formation de niveau secondaire. Ce sont les collèges classiques, les séminaires, les juvénats, les écoles normales, les écoles de métiers et les instituts familiaux qui offraient l'enseignement à près de 50,000 jeunes. Finalement, chez les Protestants on comptait 153 écoles de niveau secondaire recevant 32,000 élèves environ. Dans ce dernier cas, la moyenne par école s'élevait approximativement à 200 élèves.[2]

Au niveau collégial, il n'existait pas de réseau public d'enseignement pré-universitaire sur l'ensemble du territoire. Cependant, une dizaine d'instituts de technologie dispensaient l'enseignement professionnel à 3,000 élèves environ.

Par ailleurs, 114 écoles normales, en majorité privées, recevaient environ 7,000 étudiants-maîtres et 181 collèges classiques (ou écoles du même type), tous privés mais subventionnés par l'Etat, offraient leurs services à plus de 12,000 collégiens.

Enfin, il y avait 6 universités au Québec en 1960/61; trois de langue française et trois de langue anglaise. L'inscription totale s'élevait à environ 36,000 étudiants à temps plein, dont 12,000 à 15,000 poursuivaient cependant dans ces institutions des études de niveau proprement collégial.

Si l'on examine maintenant les proportions des effectifs réels d'élèves pour chacun des niveaux d'enseignement par rapport aux clientèles de jeunes qui potentiellement auraient pu être aux études à cette époque, on constate d'abord que la très grande majorité des jeunes de 7 à 14 ans suivaient des cours de niveau élémentaire. Par ailleurs, chez les jeunes en âge d'étudier au secondaire et au collégial, on enregistrait les proportions suivantes en 1961/62: pour les jeunes âgés de 15 à 18 ans, on notait une nette décroissance des taux de scolarisation (74.6%, 50.9%, 31% et 17.5%); pour les jeunes âgés de 19 et 20 ans, les taux de scolarisation étaient respectivement les suivants: 10.4% et 7.3%. Il est donc bien évident qu'à cette époque, qui n'est pas encore si lointaine, les établissements scolaires au-delà de l'élémentaire n'étaient fréquentés que par une minorité de jeunes. La scolarisation maximale de tous les jeunes aptes aux études n'était pas encore une réalité.

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[1] La plupart des statistiques rapportées dans cette section proviennent du *Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction Publique*, 1960/61.

[2] Par suite d'un mouvement de regroupement des équipements scolaires du secteur protestant, remontant déjà au début de siècle.

Section 2 – *Les structures administratives*

Avant 1960, la responsabilité de l'éducation relevait au Québec du Département de l'Instruction Publique qui, avec ses deux assemblées non-électives, le Comité catholique et le Comité protestant, gérait sur les plans administratif et pédagogique le système scolaire public de niveau élémentaire et secondaire. D'autre part, les écoles professionnelles, confiées à plusieurs ministères, n'avaient aucune relation ni avec le DIP, ni avec le Secrétariat de la Province qui représentait le Département auprès de l'Assemblée législative. Le plus important de ces réseaux, celui des Instituts de technologie et des Ecoles de métiers, était alors placé sous la juridiction du ministere de la Jeunesse. Ainsi, les deux principaux réseaux d'enseignement au Québec, à cette époque, les écoles professionnelles et les écoles de formation générale, élémentaire ou secondaire, "bien qu'ils eussent dû se compléter, évoluaient. . .de façon tout-à-fait indépendante, sans aucune communication sur le plan pratique". (*Rapport du ministre de la Jeunesse,* 1960/61,p.10).

Par ailleurs, l'Assemblée législative n'exerçait à cette époque, peu ou pas de contrôle véritable sur les budgets relatifs à l'éducation. De plus, ces montants étaient répartis dans les budgets des différents ministères et dans celui du Département de l'Instruction Publique. Or la masse des dépenses pour l'éducation était inscrite au budget du DIP (en 1960/61, $173 millions sur $181,000,000.) et échappait ainsi au contrôle de d'Assemblée législative, contrairement aux principes de notre régime parlementaire.

Toujours à cette même époque, on dénombrait 1,714 commissions scolaires locales, catholiques ou protestantes, sur l'ensemble du territoire québécois. Pour être bref, nous pouvons signaler l'absence presque complète de coordination des opérations entre ces diverses commissions scolaires, notamment du point du vue du système d'imposition, des normes de dépenses, des traitements des enseignants et ainsi de suite. Il en découlait des inégalités inacceptables dans la qualité des services offerts d'une commission scolaire à une autre, du seul fait de la plus ou moins grande importance des ressources financières disponibles localement.

Afin de corriger les incohérences de ces structures et les inégalités dans les services offerts, des changements majeurs sont intervenus à partir de 1960 qui ont profondément modifié l'ensemble du système scolaire au Québec. Portons donc maintenant notre attention sur quelques jalons qui progressivement ont conduit à la création du ministère de l'Education en 1964, première étape nécessaire d'un projet de réforme de l'enseignement.

Section 3 – *Les antécédents de la réforme* (ou les premiers cheminements de la réforme)

Le rapport de la Commission Royale d'enquête sur les problèmes constitutionnels, déposé en 1956, est un des premiers documents qui pose dans des perspectives assez larges les problèmes de l'éducation au Québec. Ce rapport débouche en effet sur des considérations relatives à la scolarisation des jeunes, aux modes de financement et à la réorganisation des structures administratives.

En 1958, une conférence provinciale sur l'"Education au Québec face aux problèmes contemporains" permet à tous ceux qui s'occupent des questions touchant à la formation des jeunes de discuter et de faire le point sur les problèmes du financement de l'enseignement public et privé, de la coordination des différents types d'enseignement, du recrutement et de la formation des enseignants, etc.

En 1960, le ministre de la Jeunesse se voit confier la responsabilité de l'éducation au Québec. L'un de ses premiers gestes consiste à créer un Bureau de Planification ayant pour fonction d'élaborer "un plan général de développement de l'enseignement",

1) en évaluant "le rendement des politiques d'éducation en vigueur",
2) en effectuant "toutes les analyses nécessaires à la réalisation des politiques déterminées par le gouvernement et à l'élaboration d'objectifs pouvant offrir de nouveaux choix au gouvernement",
3) en exécutant "les recherches nécessaires à l'élaboration et à la mise en place des politiques internes du ministère de la Jeunesse" et
4) en apportant "son assistance technique aux divers comités et commissions d'enquêtes établis par le gouvernement". (*Rapport du ministre de la Jeunesse,* 1960/64, pages 87-88).

En 1961, la plus importante structure de consultation concernant directement l'éducation est instituée par le gouvernement d'alors. C'est, comme vous le savez tous, la "Commission Royale d'Enquête sur l'Enseignement dans la Province de Québec", communément appelée "Commission Parent". Le mandat de cette commission a été très largement défini. Il s'agissait pour ses membres d'"étudier l'organisation et le financement de l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, faire rapport de leurs constatations et opinions et soumettre leurs recommandations quant aux mesures à prendre pour assurer le progrès de l'enseignement dans la province".

Le rapport de cette commission, comprenant plusieurs volumes déposés de 1963 à 1966, a constitué et constitue encore le document capital qui a le plus immédiatement inspiré tout le mouvement de réforme dans le domaine scolaire au Québec.

Enfin, l'année 1963 a été celle de la grande campagne du bill 60, conduisant à la création du ministère de l'Education et du Conseil supérieur de l'Education en mai 1964.

Deuxième partie: La réforme depuis 1964

Avant d'aborder l'exposé des diverses transformations qui ont grandement modifié l'aménagement institutionnel, l'organisation pédagogique, les structures administratives et les modes de financement de l'éducation depuis 1964, interrogeons-nous quelques minutes sur les objectifs généraux définis pour la réforme de l'éducation au Québec.

Section 1 – *Les objectifs de la réforme*

L'option globale qui fonde toute l'action du ministère depuis sa création est la suivante. Toutes les politiques élaborées et toutes les opérations mises en marche ont pour but de rendre accessible à tous, jeunes et adultes, un système d'éducation, adapté à la fois aux capacités et aux aspirations des individus, et aux exigences du développement socio-économique et culturel du Québec dans le monde contemporain.

Cette option fondamentale peut se traduire selon deux objectifs majeurs. Le premier de ces objectifs est la démocratisation du système d'éducation et de son fonctionnement interne en regard des besoins, des aspirations et des posibilités des personnes, en annulant progressivement les inégalités de richesse, de situation géographique et d'origine socioculturelle.

Le second de ces objectifs concerne la prépartion des jeunes et des adultes à la vie rèelle par le développement d'un système adaptè – dans ses structures, ses méthodes et ses contenus – aux exigences actuelles et prochaines du développement économique, social et culturel de la société québécoise.

Le premier de ces objectifs, qui a guidé dès son origine tout le cheminement de la réforme de l'éducation au Québec, a été clairement exposé dans le premier rapport du ministre de l'Education en 1965. Ce principe de la démocratisation de l'enseignement implique trois dimensions principales:

a) assurer à tous les Québécois, jeunes et adultes, le maximum de formation qu'ils peuvent acquérir,
b) en tenant compte des aptitudes et des aspirations diverses manifestées par les personnes tout au long de leur vie et
c) en permettant à chacun un cheminement personnel indépendant des inégalités de conditions de fortune, de situations géographiques et d'origines socio-culturelles.

La réalisation de ces conditions impliquait nécessairement la transformation en profondeur d'un système d'enseignement favorisant principalement la formation d'"élites" sociales, en un système nouveau garantissant à toute personne des chances égales d'accès à une formation conduisant jusqu'aux niveaux les plus élevés.

Pour les jeunes

C'est dans cette perspective que le ministère a coordonné l'implantation et le développement régionalisé, sur tout le territoire, d'un réseau public complet et intégré d'institutions de formation allant de l'élémentaire à l'enseignement supérieur.

C'est dans cette même optique qu'a été institué un régime pédagogique souple, polyvalent, centré sur l'activité propre des élèves et leur permettant des choix progressifs correspondant à leurs capacités et à leurs aspirations.

Pour les adultes

Le développement du secteur de l'Education permanente a visé à rendre accessible aux adultes l'ensemble des ressources éducatives déjà rendues disponibles pour les jeunes.

Par ailleurs, dans le même esprit, le ministère a entrepris le développement de moyens nouveaux visant à faciliter l'accès d'un plus grand nombre d'adultes à une formation adaptée à leur mentalité et à leurs besoins d'épanouissement personnel et collectif (TEVEC, SESAME, DEPART).

Le second objectif de la réforme scolaire au Québec consiste à faire en sorte que toute personne terminant une période de formation soit apte, selon ses capacités personnelles:

a) à participer plus pleinement à la vie sociale, politique et culturelle des collectivités diverses où se déroule son action et
b) à exercer avec compétence une activité professionnelle productive dans le cadre de la vie économique du Québec.

La réalisation de cet objectif exige qu'on développe chez les jeunes comme chez les adultes, des savoirs théoriques aussi bien que des attitudes et des compétences techniques et sociales.

1/ La transmission des savoirs et des disciplines de base est une première tâche générale qui s'impose de façon évidente.

2/ Par ailleurs, une préparation réaliste à la vie contemporaine exige beaucoup plus d'un système d'éducation qu'une simple transmission de savoirs formels: elle nécessite la diffusion d'une information adéquate sur les possibilités réelles de l'insertion des personnes dans la vie économique et sociale (information professionnelle, orientation scolaire et professionnelle, etc.).

3/ Une troisième condition, aussi fondamentale que les précédentes, concerne la formation d'attitudes et le développement de compétences articulées sur les exigences techniques d'une activité professionnelle productive aussi bien que sur celles d'une participation sociale créatrice; (d'une part, développer un savoir-faire technique et professionnel; d'autre part, développer des habiletés au plan de la communication et de l'expression efficaces, du travail de groupe et d'autres modes de participation à la vie collective).

Section 2: *Les institutions d'enseignement*

L'intention générale des objectifs définis et des politiques élaborées dans le cadre de la réforme scolaire était donc en premier lieu de constituer un secteur public d'enseignement qui fût complet (du niveau pré-scolaire au niveau universitaire), intégré et accessible aux diverses clientèles régionales. Nous considérerons ici cette accessibilité sur le plan géographique et sous l'angle de l'intégration des institutions d'où seront éliminées "les barrières psychologiques qui séparent trop souvent les enseignements de type académique et les enseignements de type technique' (*Premier rapport du ministre de l'Education,* 1965, page 17).

Dupuis 1961/62 jusqu'à 1967/68, le nombre des écoles et autres institutions d'enseignement, en excluant l'enseignement supérieur, a évolué de la manière suivante:

Années Institutions	1961 – 1962	1962 – 1963	1963 – 1964	1964 – 1965	1965 – 1966	1966 – 1967	1967 – 1968
Ecoles dans les Commis. Scolaires	6534	5973	5449	4956	5347	4835	4398
Autres institutions	1226	1208	1236	1199	1094	1028	1025*
Total	7760	7181	6685	6155	6441	5863	5423

*Estimation

Source: Rapports du ministère de l'Education, 1964/65 – 1965/66 (page 145) et 1967/68 (page 142).

Cette tendance au regroupement des équipements scolaires est également observable, dans le secteur public, au niveau des grandes unités de regroupement que sont les commissions scolaires. L'évolution du nombre des commissions scolaires locales et régionales, dans la même période, a été la suivante:

Années Commissions scolaires	1961–1962	1962–1963	1963–1964	1964–1965	1965–1966	1966–1967	1967–1968	1968–1969	1969–1970 Prévisions
Locales	1705	1656	1587	1555	1521	1498	1474	1414	1264
Régionales	9	16	28	42	64	64	64	64	64
Total	1714	1672	1615	1597	1585	1562	1538	1478	1328

Source: Rapports du ministère de l'Education, 1964/65 – 1965/66 (page 146) et 1967/68 (page 142)

On a également assisté à un développement considérable des écoles maternelles dans le secteur public. Les concentrations d'institutions et d'équipements scolaires (par intégration directe ou par contrat d'association) ont été pratiquées dans le cadre d'un développement scolaire régional planifié. Les institutions d'Etat (notamment les écoles de métiers et les instituts de technologie) ont été intégrées dans les institutions d'enseignement polyvalent des niveaux correspondants dans le secteur public, soit respectivement les niveaux secondaire et collégial. Les institutions indépendantes (secteur privé) des mêmes niveaux se sont *intégrées* directement au secteur public ou se sont *associées* à ce secteur selon un régime d'association prévu à cet effet, ou encore sont demeurées rigoureusement privées. La loi de l'Enseignement privé (bill 56, 1968) accorde des subventions aux institutions privées pour une fraction variable du coût moyen dans les écoles publiques, selon que ces institutions privées sont déclarées d'intérêt public ou reconnues pour fins de subventions.

Le ministère a créé en 1965 une Ecole Normale de l'Enseignement technique, pour la formation des maîtres dans les options d'enseignement professionnel. Par ailleurs la majorité des Ecoles Normales d'importance seront intégrées, au cours des deux prochaines années, aux institutions universitaires publiques ou privées. Certaines autres Ecoles Normales réorienteront cependant leurs actions dans le cadre des collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel.

Le réseau public des collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel, créé en 1967, comptait 12 institutions la première année; ce nombre est passé à 23 en 1967/68 et sera de 29 en 1969/70. Ce niveau d'enseignement constitue la voie d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur pour tous les finissants du cours secondaire qui en manifestent les capacités et le désir, alors qu'auparavant cet accès était inégal et limité en pratique aux clientèles de certains types d'institutions seulement (v.g. les collèges classiques) ou encore limité à certaines écoles ou facultés universitaires.

Les six universités existantes (dont trois francophones et trois anglophones) au Québec sont toutes des institutions à charte privée. En 1969 est créée une institution publique d'enseignement supérieur: l'Université du Québec. Cette université vient à point nommé pour absorber, dans ses diverses universités constituantes déconcentrées (au début: Montréal, Trois-Rivières, Chicoutimi) les clientèles considérablement accrues sortant des collèges.

Section 3A: *Les structures administratives*

Parallèlement à la mise en place des réseaux d'enseignement, de l'élémentaire à l'universitaire, la nécessité d'accomplir des progrès rapides a aussi amené le gouvernement à procéder à une révision des structures administratives de notre système d'enseignement.

Cette restructuration progressive fut animée du désir de faire participer les divers secteurs de la population tant à la définition du renouveau pédagogique qu'à son fonctionnement quotidien. "Dans la perspective d'une exploitation maximum de nos ressources, mais surtout dans une perspective de démocratisation réelle, le Ministère a donc appuyé toute sa politique sur la participation organique des collectivités locales et régionales, des administrateurs scolaires et des enseignants, au développement cohérent de l'Education au Québec". (*Premier rapport du ministre de l'Education,* 1965, p.9).

La réforme des structures s'est donc opérée à deux paliers. Au palier gouvernemental, le Ministère a redéfini ses structures en vue de coordonner l'action locale et régionale en fonction d'un développement harmonisé et cohérent de la réforme pédagogique. Au palier local, des structures nouvelles furent établies pour permettre une plus grande souplesse et une plus grande adaptation de l'enseignement aux besoins spécifiques de chaque région.

Structures du ministère

Tout d'abord, le ministère de l'Education s'est lui-même transformé afin de mieux réaliser son rôle de coordonnateur dans le domaine qui lui est propre. Des directions générales correspondant aux divers niveaux d'enseignement ont été créées en vue de planifier à l'échelon provincial la réforme pédagogique. Quant à la participation de la population aux définitions des réformes pédagogiques, elle s'est surtout incarnée dans les divers comités de planification de l'enseignement et dans le Conseil Supérieur de l'Education, organismes où les diverses parties impliquées dans la réforme de l'Education sont représentées.

De plus, afin de faciliter la participation régionale et d'instaurer une déconcentration progressive des services administratifs, le Ministère a entrepris de 1964 à 1966 la mise sur pied des *bureaux régionaux,* réunissant les divers services mis à la disposition des administrations locales et régionales, des enseignants et des clientèles scolaires en général. L'établissement de ces bureaux régionaux, axé sur des pôles géographiques d'animation et de rayonnement régional, a pour but d'assurer au niveau de chaque entité territoriale, le même genre de collaboration et de coordination qui tend à s'établir entre certains ministères au niveau du gouvernement québécois. (Voir ODEQ).

Structures régionales et locales

Tout en poursuivant son action de restructuration au palier gouvernemental, le Ministère a modifié les structures locales déjà existantes ou a créé de nouvelles structures permettant une plus grande participation de la population à la réorganisation du système.

Les commissions scolaires locales

Les commissions scolaires locales existent déjà depuis longtemps. Elles sont formées de représentants de la population choisis par mode électif et constituent une entité administrative décentralisée et autonome opérant à l'intérieur d'un système de gestion normalisé central. Tout en voulant conserver ces structures locales, le Ministère a cependant entrepris depuis quelques années un mouvement de regroupement des commissions scolaires locales, à l'intérieur des secteurs d'aménagement des commissions scolaires régionales. Cinquante-cinq (55) commissions scolaires de secteur sont actuellement sanctionnées (ou sur le point de l'être) sur une possibilité théorique d'environ 250 commissions scolaires de secteur. Cette concentration devrait permettre une meilleure planification de l'enseignement élémentaire et une plus grande efficacité tout en sauvegardant la participation locale aux réformes de l'enseignement.

Les commissions scolaires régionales

La régionalisation scolaire est sans contredit un des changements majeurs qui sont survenus dans la réorganisation administrative du système scolaire depuis 1960. La volonté d'établir de façon rentable et adéquate des services scolaires aptes à dispenser un enseignement secondaire polyvalent et adapté au monde technologique impliquait le regroupement des ressources locales en unités administratives plus vastes et mieux équipées. Ainsi furent établies 55 commissions scolaires régionales francophones et 9 commissions scolaires régionales anglophones. Par ailleurs le comité de restructuration de l'Ile de Montréal a étudié le problème da la régionalisation sur ce territoire. Il a remis son rapport à la fin de l'année 1968. Dans un proche avenir, des structures scolaires régionales couvriront donc le territoire entier du Québec.

Mais voyons très brièvement ce qu'est une commission scolaire régionale. Elle est une unité administrative formée de délégués de plusieurs commissions scolaires locales et qui a juridiction sur l'ensemble des institutions d'enseignement secondaire public du territoire régionalisé. Elles sont chargées d'intégrer les divers services éducatifs nécessaires à l'enseignement polyvalent. Pour faciliter la participation de la population à l'élaboration des politiques qui la concernaient directement, des comités régionaux de planification scolaire (ou COREPS) ont été formés dans chaque région du Québec au moment de l'Opération 55. Ces COREPS, constitués de personnes représentant en général les groupes intermédiaires existant au palier régional et directement intéressés au développement de l'éducation, agissaient comme conseillers auprès des commissions scolaires régionales et du ministère de l'Education. Ils ont permis de connaître davantage et avec plus de précision les besoins du milieu et de faire participer, tant au niveau de l'élaboration qu'au niveau du programme d'action, un plus grand nombre de personnes que ne pouvaient le faire les structures traditionnelles.

Les corporations de CEGEP

L'instauration d'un niveau d'enseignement collegial public exigeait la création de structures administratives nouvelles. Furent alors créées les corporations de CEGEP, organismes de gestion décentralisés, autonomes et responsables.

Le Conseil d'Administration d'un CEGEP compte dix-neuf (19) membres, nommés par le ministre, représentant les groupes socio-économiques du milieu, les parents, les enseignants, les étudiants et les administrateurs.

La mise en place des CEGEP s'est faite par le truchement de comités régionaux d'organisation, assistés par la Mission des CEGEP qui était composée de conseillers techniques venant du ministère et de représentants d'associations les plus directement en cause dans cette opération.

L'Université du Québec

La dernière étape de la réforme des structures administratives concernait l'enseignement supérieur. En novembre 1968, l'Assemblée Nationale adoptait une législation créant l'Université du Québec. (Bill 88).

Cette nouvelle université est un organisme de concertation devant organiser et développer l'enseignement supérieur dans des établissements universitaires publics décentralisés. Trois pôles sont déjà constitués: Montréal, Trois-Rivières et Chicoutimi; un quatrième est déjà choisi: Rimouski.

L'Université du Québec est une corporation publique autonome et non soumise au pouvoir hiérarchique du Ministère. Sa direction se compose du président, des recteurs des universités constituantes, de trois représentants d'instituts de recherche, de trois représentants du corps professoral, de deux représentants des étudiants, de trois représentants du monde du travail et des affaires et d'au plus quatre vice-présidents, tous nommés par le ministre. L'Université du Québec commencera donc à dispenser l'enseignement universitaire dès septembre 1969 dans ses trois centres constitués.

Il faut aussi souligner qu'un Conseil des universités a été créé également, dans le but de coordonner le développement de l'ensemble des activités d'enseignement et de recherche des universités du Québec. "Le Conseil a pour fonction principale de donner des avis au ministre de l'Education sur les besoins de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherche universitaire et de lui faire des recommandations sur les mesures à prendre pour combler ces besoins" (Bill 57, 1968).

Section 3B: *Les effectifs étudiants*

La réforme des structures administratives de l'éducation, le parachèvement de la régionalisation au niveau secondaire et l'établissement d'un niveau d'étude post-secondaire public a entraîné un acroissement considérable des effectifs scolaires du Québec.

La population scolaire du Québec (chez les jeunes) est passée de 1,266,700 en 1960/61 à environ 1,744,000 en 1968/69, soit un accroissement de près de 38%. Ce sont les effectifs des niveaux d'enseignement fréquentés par les jeunes non soumis à la fréquentation scolaire obligatoire qui se sont davantage accrus.

- maternelle: 796%
- secondaire: 74%
- collégial: 193%

Le premier niveau s'accroît par suite de l'ouverture de maternelles publiques à travers toute la province; le second à la suite de la régionalisation; le troisième par suite de la création d'un réseau de collèges publics.

L'enquête sur l'orientation des finissants du secondaire, tenue en 1965 et 1966, témoigne de l'importance que les étudiants accordent à la poursuite de leurs études: le nombre de ceux qui veulent poursuivre s'accroît d'année en année.

Tableau: Comparaison de la décision des élèves pour avril 1965 et avril 1966

	Poursuivent leurs études	Abandonnent leurs études	Sont indécis
1965	74.4%	13.0%	12.6%
1966	79.4%	11.3%	9.1%

Les taux de scolarisation selon l'âge des élèves illustrent cet essor de la fréquentation scolaire:

Tableau: Taux de scolarisation par âge, 1961/62 et 1966/67

	1961/62	1966/67
Moins de 5 ans	3.8%	16.6%
5 ans	52.2%	73.1%
14 ans	92.4%	93.7%
15 ans	74.6%	86.0%
16 ans	50.9%	68.6%
17 ans	31.0%	45.1%
18 ans	17.5%	27.1%
19 ans	10.4%	16.7%

L.éducation des adultes pour sa part progresse grandement dupuis 1960/61. De 95,000 élèves qu'elle comptait alors, la nouvelle direction générale de l'Education permanente en compte en 1968/69 plus de 291,000, soit une augmentation de 206% en 9 ans.

Ainsi depuis 1960/61, les effectifs scolaires du Québec, jeunes et adultes, se sont accrus de plus de 49%, passant en nombres absolus de 1,361,700 à 2,035,000.

Section 3C: *Le personnel enseignant*

Depuis la publication des deuxième et troisième volumes du Rapport Parent, à la fin de 1965, le ministère a pris des mesures importantes dans le domaine du personnel enseignant, notamment la création du Comité de la formation des maîtres et l'adoption du règlement No.4.

– Le comité de la formation des maitres constitue le principal agent dans le travail que le ministère entreprend dans ce domaine. Il est chargé entre autres de recommander au ministre des critères relatifs:

- à l'aménagement des institutions de formation des maîtres
- au recyclage et perfectionnement des maîtres
- à l'approbation des programmes de formation des maîtres
- etc.

– Le règlement No.4 propose des mesures destinées à promouvoir une meilleure organisation de l'accès à la carrière de l'enseignement. Il s'inspire des recommandations du Rapport Parent et comporte des innovations importantes.

LES EFFECTIFS SCOLAIRES DU QUEBEC 1960/61 A 1968/69

TABLEAU I

Niveau d'enseignement	1960–61	1961–62	1962–63	1963–64	1964–65	1965–66	1966–67	1967–68	1968–69	Accroissement 1960/68
Maternelle	11,769	13,775	17,186	23,857	31,354	44,663	60,949	77,845	105,500	796.4
Elémentaire	913,848	936,887	952,668	975,827	989,014	978,628	982,900	975,529	982,800	7.5
Secondaire	281,564	304,284	334,970	356,968	388,318	426,852	449,466	463,278	489,800	73.9
Collégial	37,591	47,035	54,804	64,106	65,328	70,768	82,000	98,900	110,000	192.7
Universitaire	21,948	24,227	25,843	29,022	31,052	34,744	38,225	43,471	55,900	154.7
Total	1,266,270	1,326,208	1,385,471	1,449,780	1,505,066	1,555,655	1,613,540	1,659,023	1,744,000	37.7
Education des adultes	95,005	87,624	96,298	112,953	121,231	144,211	168,499	291,313	291,000	206.3
Grand Total	1,361,715	1,413,832	1,481,769	1,562,733	1,626,297	1,699,866	1,782,039	1,950,336	2,035,000	49.4

1960–61 à 1962–63, 1965–66 et 1966–67: Statistiques de l'enseignement, sauf les niveaux collégial et universitaire en 1960/61 et 1961/62.
1963–64 et 1964–65: Hebdo-Education, ler octobre 1968.
1967–68: Rapport du Ministère.
1968–69 (Estimations): Maternelle, élémentaire, secondaire (prévisions), collégial et universitaire.

Dans le cadre des politiques de perfectionnement et de formation des maitres, deux programmes ont été mis sur pied:

- SEMEA, en vue de sensibiliser les maîtres au climat et à l'esprit de l'école active
- SESAME, projet de recherche en programmation et méthodologie de l'enseignement aux adultes.

Nous reviendrons plus loin sur ces deux projets.

L'évolution des effectifs du personnel enseignant et du personnel de l'administration témoigne de l'accroissement important du nombre des élèves aux différents niveaux d'enseignement. Au total, ces effectifs ont crû de 14% entre 1965/66 et 1967/68. Cet accroissement varie de 87.9% à la maternelle à 3.9% à l'université. En trois ans, cet effectif s'est accru de 11,166 personnes. (voir tableau)

Négociations

Ajoutons que depuis deux ans le gouvernement a entrepris, avec les enseignants et les cadres scolaires, des négociations à l'échelle du Québec. On veut ainsi normaliser les conditions de travail, les rapports élèves-maître, la charge de travail et les salaires. Cette opération de rationalisation soulève des problèmes complexes et des difficultés qui éclatent maintenant au grand jour. Je n'ai pas à m'étendre sur le sujet; vous en avez sûrement entendu parler.

Section 4A: *L'organisation pédagogique*

Les règlements adoptés par le ministère de l'Education pour guider l'organisation de l'enseignement proprement dit ont poursuivi un double objectif: d'une part, assurer un développement équilibré de l'enfant aux points de vue intellectuel, affectif et social; d'autre part, pratiquer une adaptation constante de l'organisation scolaire aux différences individuelles.

A – Le règlement No 1 du ministère (1965) a préconisé les mesures suivantes:

- un âge uniforme pour l'admission au cours élémentaire (avoir six ans révolus avant le premier octobre de l'année scolaire en cours; jusqu'en 1967/68, il est toutefois demeuré loisible aux commissions scolaires d'admettre en première année des élèves qui allaient avoir six ans révolus avant le premier janvier);
- le classement par âge à ce même niveau;
- le progrès continu tout au long de la carrière scolaire;
- la limitation de l'accélération ou du ralentissement à une seule année (pas moins de cinq années d'études élémentaires);
- le passage automatique à l'école secondaire après un cours élémentaire de sept ans;
- la limitation de l'écart entre les niveaux des matières choisies par un élève au cours secondaire;
- un examen du ministère administré aux élèves terminant le cours élémentaire.

1 – *A l'école élémentaire*

A l'intérieur d'un groupe d'élèves de même âge chronologique, la formation de sous-groupes de travail homogènes, du point de vue des aptitudes individuelles, dans l'une ou l'autre des disciplines fondamentales (les groupes-matières), doit remplacer

Evolution des effectifs du personnel enseignant
et du personnel de l'administration
1965/66 à 1967/68

	1965/66	1966/67	1967/68	Accroissement	1965/67
				Number	%
Maternelle	1,115	1,556	2,095	980	87.9%
Elémentaire	34,205	34.654	39,709	5,504	16.1%
Secondaire	29,903	30,499	32,860	2,957	9.8%
Collégial	11,696	12,399	13,305	1,609	13.8%
Universitaire	2,278	3,082	3,094	116	3.9%
Total	72,897	82,190	91,063	11,166	14.0%

Source: *Rapport du Ministère de l'Education*, 1967/68, p.141.

le concept d'un programme uniforme, minimiser les inconvénients de la classe-degré, pour favoriser, dans l'ensemble, le respect du rythme individuel d'apprentissage de chacun des enfants. C'est le personnel académique de chaque école qui assure la répartition des élèves en groupes de travail selon des critères déterminés en commun (cf. Art. IV).

2 – *A l'école secondaire: du cloisonnement à la polyvalence*

Les matières préparatoires, la possibilité de choisir entre diverses matières, de même niveau ou de niveaux différents, la promotion par matière, sont des mesures qui permettront à l'élève de se confectionner avec le concours de ses maîtres, de ses parents, de ses conseillers d'orientation, un programme qui répond à ses intérêts et à ses besoins individuels et de progresser d'une façon continue vers les buts poursuivis. (Cf. *Documents d'éducation* No 2, p.9). C'est l'idée de l'"école polyvalente" proposée par la Commission Royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement, et qui sera organisée dans le cadre administratif des commissions scolaires régionales.

Le nouveau cours secondaire sera réparti sur un programme de cinq ans. Il ne se divisera plus en sections ou "cours" distincts, mais comprendra toutes les matières actuellement prévues par les programmes en vigueur pour les classes du niveau de septième à onzième années et, dans le cas des écoles catholiques de langue française, pour la classe de douzième commerciale spéciale. La promotion s'effectuera séparément pour chacune des matières, mais en veillant à ce que l'écart entre les niveaux des diverses matières auxquelles un élève s'inscrit ne dépasse pas l'équivalent de deux degrés (cf. Règlement No 1, Art. VI et VII).

Dans l'état présent de la réforme, nous avons surtout commencé à réaliser le "*décloisonnement* ", décrit plus haut, entre les divers cours ou sections-programmes du niveau secondaire, mais sans modifier encore l'ensemble des contenus des matières (hormis l'élimination des redondances qu'étaient les matières inscrites déjà au programme de plusieurs sections et dont le contenu était équivalent). Ce décloisonnement, tout en offrant un même ensemble de matières variées aux choix des élèves, est en somme une opération préliminaire en vue de la création progressive (selon les moyens et les rythmes propres aux divers milieux régionaux) d'un véritable programme institutionnel polyvalent, à options graduées, obligatoires et facultatives, dans les matières de formation générale et professionnelle.

L'école secondaire polyvalente (qui n'existe maintenant qu'en certains endroits) sera cette institution qui accueillera tous les élèves à leur sortie de l'école élémentaire et leur assurera une formation secondaire de base: c'est celle qui permettra à chacun de découvrir ses propres talents et préférences et offrira, également à chacun, l'occasion de poursuivre aussi longtemps que possible sa formation générale et, si nécessaire, de se préparer immédiatement à une fonction de travail. A l'école secondaire polyvalente, on dispensera donc, non seulement un enseignement dit de culture générale mais aussi un enseignement dit de formation professionnelle de niveau secondaire. (cf. *L'école coopérative: polyvalence et progrès continu*, Documents d'éducation No 2, 1966, p.68).

B – *Les collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel*

L'enseignement collégial, intermédiaire entre le niveau secondaire et celui de l'université, est destiné aux étudiants dont l'âge varie en moyenne de 17 à 19 ans et dont l'intention est soit de poursuivre leurs études jusqu'à l'université, soit d'acquérir une formation "terminale" conduisant à une profession technique spécialisée. Il est destiné aussi aux adultes qui veulent compléter leur formation générale ou qui doivent compléter leur formation professionnelle en fonction des exigences du marché du travail.

La politique du ministère de l'Education à ce niveau a été de permettre aux institutions existantes du secteur privé et du secteur étatique de se regrouper volontairement dans un cadre juridique et administratif commun, de caractère public, mettant en commun leurs ressources humaines et matérielles pour dispenser un programme d'enseignement offrant un large éventail d'options, allant de la technique aux humanités. Les objectifs visés étaient d'établir une liaison organique entre l'enseignement secondaire et l'enseignement universitaire; de répondre aux besoins de croissance des inscriptions; d'assurer des services scolaires équivalents dans toutes les régions du Québec; de permettre aux institutions existantes de mieux définir leur vocation et de situer leur action en toute connaissance de cause; de permettre aux étudiants une orientation progressive de leurs études qui soit le mieux adaptée possible à leurs aptitudes et à leur personnalité; de permettre le recyclage, dans chaque région, de la population active de façon à la préparer à des emplois techniques spécialisés; enfin, d'offrir aux adultes le complément de formation générale nécessaire pour jouer un rôle actif dans notre société. (cf. *L'enseignement collégial et les collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel,* Documents d'éducation No 3, 1967, pp.6-7).

Comme pour le programme institutionnel du cours secondaire, l'organisation pédagogique du niveau collégial doit procéder en deux étapes chronologiques. Dans une première opération transitoire, il a fallu harmoniser les programmes en décloisonnant les cours offerts dans les réseaux parallèles existants, de sorte que se trouvent éliminés les redondances et qu'une plus grande mobilité dans l'orientation des étudiants devient maintenant possible. Dans un second temps, il faut maintenant procéder à une révision en profondeur des programmes offerts, compte tenu de l'évolution de la réforme en cours au niveau secondaire (en amont) et au niveau supérieur (en aval). Cette seconde opération sera beaucoup plus considérable, car il s'agira non seulement de clarifier une situation existante, déjà très complexe, mais également d'harmoniser l'enseignement de formation professionnelle et l'enseignement de formation dite générale. (*Ibid.*, pp.34-35). Ces réformes rendront possible la polyvalence, la promotion par matière, et l'orientation progressive parmi des options où l'étudiant déterminera un programme individuel, comportant des matières obligatoires et facultatives (ces dernières se divisant en matières "de concentration" et en matières "complémentaires", la spécialisation s'effectuant à l'intérieur des matières dites "de concentration"). On donnera beaucoup d'importance, à ce niveau, au travail personnel des étudiants aussi bien qu'à leur orientation scolaire et professionnelle. (*Ibid.,* pp.37-38).

Pour ceux qui s'orientent vers l'université, la scolarité est de deux ans; pour les autres, qui se destinent, dans un proche avenir, au marché du travail, elle est de deux ou trois ans, selon la profession envisagée. (*Ibid.,* p. 106).

C – *Les universités*

Des réformes autonomes sont déjà en cours dans certaines universités existantes, comme à l'université Laval, par exemple, où un effort se poursuit en vue de décloisonner les facultés et les écoles; ou comme pour l'enseignement de la médecine à l'université de Sherbrooke. Le Conseil des universités sera un instrument précieux pour assurer un développement coordonné de l'enseignement et de la recherche dans l'ensemble de ces institutions, compte tenu des ressources existantes et des secteurs complémentaires qu'elles devront développer en fonction des besoins prévisibles.

L'université du Québec s'inscrit aussi carrément dans l'esprit de la réforme poursuivie dans l'ensemble du système d'enseignement, avec les adaptations propres au niveau universitaire.

La principale innovation de l'université du Québec consiste en une nouvelle organisation des structures sur la base de départements et de modules, qui remplace l'organisation traditionnelle en facultés. Les *départements* sont les structures de "production" des cours, séminaires et travaux en laboratoires. Les *modules,* ou programmes, sont par ailleurs les structures de "consommation" de l'enseignement.

Le premier cycle est centré surtout sur l'enseignement, communiqué selon diverses formules. Les deuxième et troisième cycles sont consacrés à l'étude et à la recherche.

"Une telle structure d'organisation de l'enseignement répond à deux objectifs. Il s'agit d'abord de maintenir une unité homogène de professeurs travaillant dans une même discipline, à la fois au plan de la recherche et au plan de l'enseignement: cette unité de base est le *département.* Il faut ensuite ajouter une seconde dimension, qui corresponde à la vocation multi-disciplinaire de l'université moderne, et qui serve aussi de cadre de référence physique et humain à l'étudiant: cette seconde dimension est le *module* (programme) – ou, au niveau des études de deuxième et de troisième cycles, le centre de recherche." (Cf. "Université du Québec: journal de bord – 2", *Hebdo-Education,* Vème année, No 33, 25 mars 1969, p.14). Les modules sont regroupés en *familles de modules* pour faciliter la coordination et l'organisation des activités d'enseignement et de recherche. La recherche sera organisée dans le cadre des départements selon les disciplines et les recherches interdisciplinaires seront pratiquées dans des centres de recherche (*Ibid.,* p.16).

Section 4B: *Les projets expérimentaux du ministère Recherche et Développement*

Mais la réforme touche bien plus que des structures administratives, des clientèles mesurables et des effectifs de personnel: le ministère s'est attaché aussi à l'amélioration de l'action éducative elle-même. Parmi les projets de recherche et de développement organisés par le ministère pour activer le progrès interne de l'enseignement, il faut en mentionner quatre: SESAME et TEVEC, qui relèvent de l'Education permanente, et les projets SEMEA et REPERES, qui relèvent de la Mission des projets expérimentaux pour la formation des maîtres.

1 – Le projet SESAME (Sessions d'enseignement spécialisé aux adultes par le ministère de l'Education), créé en 1966, est un projet poursuivant deux objectifs principaux: d'une part, sensibiliser et former des cadres de l'éducation des adultes; d'autre part, rendre plus conformes aux besoins réels des adultes les contenus et les programmes, de même que le rôle du professeur d'adultes. Après l'évaluation expérimentale de trois méthodes de formation (méthodes actives, animation sociale et dynamique de groupe), on organise présentement

un stage de formation de formateurs d'adultes au Centre coopératif SESAME (cf. *Rapport du ministère de l'Education,* 1967/68, p.101).

2 – Le projet TEVEC est une expérience de formation des adultes peu scolarisés de toute une région, utilisant un système de communications multi-média (combinant la télévision en circuit ouvert, le cours par correspondance, les rencontres directes de personnes et de groupes et l'animation sociale) et visant à amener cette clientèle au niveau de la neuvième année avec un contenu pédagogique adapté aux adultes. L'expérience a débuté en 1967; les cours télévisés, en janvier 1968.

3 Le projet SEMEA (Stages d'entraînement aux méthodes d'éducation active) a vu le jour en 1966: c'est un service de perfectionnement et de recyclage en cours d'emploi des maîtres du cours élémentaire, offert par le ministère en sessions de neuf et de sept semaines. En 1967/68, une session spéciale de deux semaines a été organisée à l'intention d'un groupe de principaux d'école dans le but de les sensibiliser aux méthodes nouvelles. (*Ibid.,* p.106).

4 – Le projet REPERES (Réseau d'expérimentation pour la préparation des étudiants-maîtres au renouveau à l'élémentaire et au secondaire) est une recherche-action où des professeurs d'école normale, travaillant à partir d'un programme-cadre initial, ont pour tâche d'élaborer un programme complet de formation des maîtres. Ce programme sera ensuite expérimenté pendant trois ans dans un centre pilote provincial.

Section 5: *Le financement de l'éducation*

Les réformes entreprises depuis 1964, dont nous venons de faire état devant vous, ont remis en question les modes de financement traditionnels de l'éducation au Québec. Rendre l'école accessible à tous, en annulant les différences dans les conditions de fortune des individus et des collectivités régionales, a supposé de la part des contribuables du Québec, un effort financier à la fois coûteux et fortement accéléré. Par ailleurs, pour que cet effort financier produise les effets espérés, il a fallu élaborer et proposer un système de gestion budgétaire moderne et dynamique. Voyons brièvement ces deux points.

1 – *Les dépenses pour l'Education*

En 1960/61, les dépenses nettes du Gouvernement du Québec pour l'enseignement se chiffraient à $181,535,000., une fois déduites les subventions à fins éducatives provenant du gouvernement fédéral. Sept ans plus tard, en 1967/68, ces dépenses d'élevaient à $655,857,000., enregistrant une hausse de l'ordre de 350% (cf. *Rapport du ministère de l'Education,* 1967/68, page 126). Cette année, les prévisions budgétaires sont de l'ordre de 900 millions de dollars pour le ministère de l'Education comme tel (le gouvernement dans son ensemble dépense pour l'enseignement une somme globale un peu supérieure à celle du Ministère).

Tableau: Evolution, en milliers de dollars, des dépenses brutes et nettes du gouvernement du Québec pour l'enseignement, de 1960/61 à 1967/68.

Année	Dépenses brutes	Dépenses nettes
1960/61	$ 199,969	$ 181,535
1961/62	280,083	258,648
1962/63	308,291	275,772
1963/64	369,105	332,885
1964/65	480,192	393,847
1965/66	513,007	463,710
1966/67	594,108	541,718
1967/68	759,321	655,857

Source: *Rapport du ministère de l'Education,* 1967/68, page 126 (source première: Comptes publics du 31 mars, 1961 à 1968).

Voilà un effort collectif coûteux: les dépenses du Québec pour l'enseignement auront été multipliées par cinq en l'espace de dix ans. Cet effort était toutefois impératif parce que le Québec désirait rendre l'éducation accessible à tous ses jeunes et à tous ses citoyens sans distinction aucune, compte tenu seulement des aspirations et des capacités des générations montantes et des adultes d'une part, et des exigences du développement socio-économique d'une société moderne d'autre part.

2 – *Le système de gestion et d'administration des budgets*

Afin que ces sommes considérables servent efficacement au développement de l'éducation, il était de la responsabilité du Ministère de concevoir et de mettre au point un système de gestion à l'intention des institutions d'enseignement:

- afin de fournir aux administrateurs scolaires des régles et des techniques leur permettant de remplir leurs fonctions le plus adéquatement et le plus consciencieusement possible;
- et afin de mettre sur pied simultanément, un système d'enregistrement des données permettant à la fois de satisfaire des fins administratives et de pratiquer des analyses économiques pour des fins de prévision et d'établissement de normes.

L'énumération de quelques-uns des manuels publiés jusqu'à maintenant permet de voir comment le système peut servir aussi bien à des fins d'administration courante et à des fins d'analyse économique:

- Le système de comptabilité
- Le système de préparation de budget
- Les prévisions budgétaires
- Le système d'analyse des dépenses et des revenus
- Les structures fonctionnelles
- Le système de prévisions quinquennales

Dans cette optique de la mise en place de structures dynamiques de gestion, des politiques d'aide financière aux institutions et aux individus on été élaborées.

Le financement des commissions scolaires (élémentaire et secondaire)

Les commissions scolaires tirent leurs revenus presque exclusivement de deux sources: l'impôt foncier et les subventions statutaires et, s'il y a lieu, de subventions d'équilibre budgétaire. En 1967/68, les subventions aux commissions scolaires ont atteint près de $341 millions, soit une augmentation de 15% par rapport à l'année précédente. (cf. *Rapport du ministère de l'Education,* 1967/68, page 130).

Les budgets des CEGEP

Le financement des opérations des collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel est assuré entièrement par le ministère de l'Education, ces institutions étant de caractère public. A leur première année d'opération, les 12 CEGEP créés en 1967/68 ont assuré l'enseignement à 14,460 étudiants. Le coût d'opération de cette première année s'est élevé à plus de $15 millions. Notons que les coûts de l'enseignement proprement dit et des laboratoires absorbent 60% du budget total de ces institutions (*Ibid.*, page 130).

Les subventions aux universités, collèges et autres institutions indépendantes

La croissance très marquée des clientèles de l'enseignement supérieur, de même que l'accroissement des coûts de fonctionnement de l'enseignement à ce niveau, ont été des facteurs importants dans le besoin d'une aide financière accrue provenant du ministère de l'Education. A ces facteurs se sont ajoutées des dépenses très considérables des universités (et des institutions indépendantes affiliées à ces dernières) pour des fins d'immobilisation. L'Université du Québec sera financée selon les mêmes règles et critères que les six autres universités; le gouvernement sera sa source principale de financement.

L'éducation des adultes

Les dépenses gouvernementales pour la formation des adultes en dehors des cours réguliers prévus à l'intention des jeunes, du niveau élémentaire au niveau collégial, ont augmenté très considérablement, surtout depuis 1966, alors que fut créée au Ministère, la direction générale de l'Education permanente. Comme les lois existantes ne permettaient pas aux commissions scolaires d'offrir l'enseignement aux adultes, le Ministère s'est chargé du financement total et de la responsabilité administrative des cours, qui sont organisés pour son compte en collaboration avec les commissions scolaires régionales. Les adultes peuvent profiter par ailleurs de l'enseignement régulier dispensé gratuitement dans les CEGEP, à l'exception des programmes spéciaux du soir destinés aux adultes et financés par des frais de scolarité. Une partie importante du budget total de la direction générale de l'Education permanente, destinée à des subventions aux institutions organisant des cours aux adultes, est recouvrée du gouvernement fédéral sous forme de subventions spéciales accordées en vertu d'un accord fédéral-provincial remontant à 1961 (et amendé plusieurs fois depuis).

L'aide aux individus

L'enseignement public au Québec est entièrement gratuit du niveau élémentaire au niveau collégial. En vertu de la loi des prêts et bourses aux étudiants, l'aide du gouvernement est attribuée aux étudiants sous forme de prêts garantis ou sous forme de prêts garantis et de bourses. Cette aide tient compte des besoins de chaque étudiant, dans le but d'aider davantage ceux qui en ont le plus besoin dans la poursuite de leurs études collégiales et supérieures. De plus, lorsque les montants maxima des prêts établis par les règlements ne suffisent pas à combler la différence entre les dépenses essentielles de l'étudiant et ses ressources financières essentielles, le gouvernement lui accorde une bourse supplémentaire qu'il n'est pas tenu de rembourser par la suite (cf. *Rapport du ministère de l'Education,* 1967/68, page 131). Ce système est le fruit d'une évolution graduelle des politiques du gouvernement depuis les premières années de la réforme, marqué de plus, en 1966, par la mise en oeuvre des recommandations du comité du plan d'accessibilité générale à l'Education. Il existe également des bourses de perfectionnement à l'intention des maîtres en exercice (en plus des sommes consacrées à la formation des maîtres).

Conclusion

En guise de conclusion à cette causerie, on me permettra de résumer sommairement les réalisations les plus importantes de la réforme scolaire entreprise au Québec et de souligner les problèmes majeurs qui nous confrontent.

En simplifiant volontairement les choses, on peut affirmer que la réforme scolaire au Québec est toute entière décrite dans les propositions suivantes:

1. Le Québec a redéfini d'une façon explicite les objectifs de l'éducation en milieu scolaire, tant pour les jeunes que pour les adultes;
2. Le Québec a instauré la démocratisation de l'enseignement et il vise à la généralisation d'un système opératoire et fonctionnel d'éducation permanente;
3. Le Québec a opté pour la décentralisation administrative;
4. Le Québec a favorisé la mise en commun des ressources physiques et humaines des collectivités régionales;
5. Le Québec a défini d'une façon très nette les divers niveaux d'enseignement;
6. Le Québec a réorganisé la structure même des enseignements aux divers niveaux;
7. Le Québec a transformé ses modes de financement des institutions d'enseignement public et privé;

8. Le Québec a mis en place un système de gestion s'inspirant des méthodes et des procédures les plus modernes;
9. Le Québec a institutionnalisé la consultation et la participation dans le secteur scolaire et ce, à tous les niveaux du système;
10. Le Québec, comme tous les autres pays d'Occident, subit une crise sociale qui remet en cause – au moins partiellement – la société même qui a souhaité et réalisé la réforme scolaire.

Comme le répètent souvent les gens bien au fait de ce qui a été accompli, l'infrastructure juridique, administrative, institutionnelle et pédagogique d'un nouveau système scolaire est maintenant en place au Québec.

Toutes ces transformations ne se sont pas accomplies sans bouleversements, sans heurts et sans difficultés. Les responsables de la réorganisation scolaire au Québec s'attendaient plus ou moins à tout ce qui s'est produit jusqu'à ce jour. . .mais pas un, je crois, pensait devoir consommer autant d'efforts et déployer autant de courage à servir la collectivité.

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'évaluation de ce qui a été accompli depuis 1960 va de l'optimisme le plus encourageant au pessimisme le plus désespéré. Pour les uns, il s'agit de la "faillite la plus dispendieuse de notre histoire"; pour les autres, il s'agit "de la plus valable entreprise communautaire que la collectivité québécoise ait réussie".

Pour nous, seuls les faits comptent et, à cet égard, il y a lieu d'être modérément fiers si on se remémore les réalisations que j'ai décrites plus haut.

Mais une réforme scolaire ne peut s'arrêter aux seules conditions nécessaires à une scolarisation massive de la population. Il faut encore, et c'est là un autre défi, que le système scolaire fasse vraiment un lien avec la totalité des structures sociales et débouche de façon concrète et dynamique dans une société de travail. En même temps que l'on scolarise un nombre de plus en plus grand de jeunes, que l'on rend possible le libre choix de la carrière, il faut non seulement rendre consciente notre société de ces faits, mais encore aider cette dernière à assumer la lourde tâche d'intégrer les jeunes travailleurs dans des champs d'activités où ils pourront y faire une vie heureuse et créatrice.

Notre société est donc confrontée avec un des plus lourds défis de son histoire: celui de respecter ses propres ressources humaines et à un titre plus élevé que tout autre investissement. Si le manque de travailleurs qualifiés a été un facteur de ralentissement ou de végétation de toute notre économie, il semble qu'actuellement le nombre croissant, diversifié et peut-être excédentaire de ces travailleurs devrait provoquer une accélération du développement et une société de plein emploi.

Devant ce nouveau défi, le ministère a élargi ses préoccupations à l'égard des jeunes. Au niveau de l'école et du collège, il a développé les services personnels aux étudiants, qui jouent sur place un rôle accru dans le domaine de l'orientation et du placement. Il a développé des recherches pour saisir la réalité étudiante. "Mes projets d'orientation", par exemple, atteint, depuis cinq ans, les finissants du cours secondaire et apporte une connaissance significative qui éclaire les décisions politiques. Les comités consultatifs au niveau du collège sont des noyaux d'authentique collaboration entre enseignants et employeurs.

Ajoutons encore la constitution d'un groupe de travail, sous le titre "Education et Emploi", qui se préoccupe fondamentalement des problèmes de jonctions entre le monde du travail et celui de l'école. Ce groupe, composé de représentants de directions générales qui ont fonction d'enseignement, a pour mission de réaliser une concertation des efforts en vue d'apporter des solutions aux problèmes nouveaux qui se posent, dans une époque de transition, aux futurs travailleurs. Des collaborations sont établies avec le ministère pour accroître l'efficacité des structures gouvernementales et agir plus efficacement dans le monde de l'emploi. Ajoutons encore les efforts conjoints du ministère et de certaines associations professionnelles pour établir des échanges dynamiques et concertés dans la recherche de réponses aux besoins des nouveaux travailleurs.

Le développement de nos ressources humaines fait partie intégrante d'une politique active de l'emploi en même temps qu'il doit être un moteur de première importance dans le changement des mentalités et la modification pertinente des structures économiques et sociales qui freinent la créativité. Le ministère de l'Education a vraiment pris les devants dans ce domaine et il n'a pas l'intention de faire cavalier seul dans ce travail de transformations de toute notre société. Des signes annoncent une réelle prise de conscience collective: le ministère est présent et sera présent à l'avenir dans toutes les démarches qui accélèreront l'évolution du Québec.

Lorsqu'on songe à l'ensemble des difficultés qu'il faut surmonter pour mener à terme une réforme fondamentale dans un domaine aussi complexe que celui de l'éducation, les premiers obstacles qui se présentent à l'esprit sont les problèmes d'ordre technique ou économique, problèmes d'ordre administratif, d'information et de planification, etc. Ces questions sont effectivement importantes et nous devons leur trouver constamment les solutions rationnelles qui conviennent.

Il est cependant un autre ordre de problèmes où la rationalité des moyens par rapport à une hiérarchie cohérente d'objectifs rencontre des obstacles plus sérieux. Ces obstacles tiennent plutôt aux mentalités, aux traditions locales ou régionales, aux rivalités entre groupes divers, au manque d'information ou à des incompréhensions quant à la nature et au niveau des problèmes à résoudre collectivement.

Ces obstacles sont tout aussi réels que les premiers, mais on ne peut pas les aborder, ni les résoudre, comme de simples problèmes techniques; ils font appel à une rationalité d'un ordre différent qui touche à la mentalité elle-même. Faute de pondérer tous les problèmes dans une perspective plus large, certains actes et comportements risquent de compromettre les véritables objectifs de la réforme générale en attaquant des aspects plus ou moins marginaux et limités du système déjà partiellement mis en place (par exemple: les transports), plutôt que de chercher les conditions rationnelles et les moyens pratiques d'une solution efficace.

Une des leçons centrales que nous avons tirées de l'expérience de la réforme scolaire au Québec est qu'une telle entreprise historique implique bien plus qu'une transformation des seuls appareils et institutions: elle est bien plutôt une conversion des attitudes, une transformation autonome de la mentalité des hommes.

VI

CHARACTERISTICS IN THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES

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The Atlantic Area

The provinces of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick make up what is generally now regarded as the Atlantic area of Canada. The last three provinces named are often referred to as the Maritime provinces, which term does not include the province of Newfoundland.

The total population of this area of approximately two million (estimated as one million nine hundred and ninety thousand, 1965) is divided almost equally between rural and urban, 50.2 percent being rural and 49.8 percent urban. This is contrasted to 30.4 percent and 69.6 percent for Canada as a whole. Prince Edward Island is 67.6 percent rural and 32.4 percent urban while the other provinces are almost equally divided in this regard. There are no large metropolitan centres. The Halifax-Dartmouth area is considerably over 100,000 and there are fairly large concentrations of population in St.John's, Newfoundland, Saint John, New Brunswick, and in the Sydney area of Cape Breton.

The labour force of over 560,000 (8.7 percent of the Canadian labour force) is employed to a fairly high degree in relation to Canada as a whole, in fishing, forestry and mining. Manufacturing employs 21.7 percent of the Canadian labour force while it employs only 13.8 percent of the labour force in the Atlantic provinces. One may generalize and say that the Atlantic provinces are more dependent on the extractive industries than are the other areas of Canada.

A look at the map illustrates the difficulties of communication in this area. Newfoundland has a very long, indented coastline and the Maritime provinces themselves, of course, are surrounded by the sea with indentations such as the Bay of Fundy, Minas Basin, Northumberland Strait, and the Strait of Canso and the Bras d'Or Lakes. The population is scattered throughout the area and, in the case of Newfoundland, widely distributed in Labrador and around the shores of the Island.

This indicates the basic problems of education in this area: the population tends to be scattered, there are no large metropolitan areas, and the economy is dependent to a great extent on the extractive industries. In addition, the area has difficulties in communication due to the indentations of the land and the distance from the central Canadian market. For example, it is just as easy to go from Fredericton to Boston or Montreal as it is from Fredericton to Halifax.

There is at the present time a study being carried out by the province of New Brunswick on the feasibility of Maritime union. The Atlantic Development Board and some of the various economic groups have come out very strongly for this pointing out that there would be great savings in government if the three provincial governments were abolished, and that the area could speak with more authority at the federal level

This proposition is an old one: it has been debated since 1864 and it is difficult to get excited about it. One tends to be cynical regarding reducing costs by the centralization of governments. However, it may be that you will be dealing with the Maritime representation rather than the various provincial representations in future years.

Some Historical Facts

What is now New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were, of course, original partners in Confederation; Prince Edward Island came in a few years later and Newfoundland is a relatively new member. People in central and western Canada must sometimes be annoyed at the continual clamour for Maritime rights and the claim of the Maritime provinces that they are excluded from the economic life of Canada and have suffered from Confederation. This is not a proper place or time to go into this problem, but there is little doubt that economic growth in the Maritime provinces has not kept pace with growth in other parts of Canada since 1867. The whole Atlantic area is generally classed as a "have-not" area. Many studies and royal commissions have reported on the need for special federal aid and much has been done through the various federal agencies, and through special grants, to assist in raising the level of economic activity in the whole area. (The Atlantic Development Board, Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act, the Fund for Rural Economic Development, the Area Development Agency and the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council have all been agencies through which its federal money has been spent to try to improve conditions in the area.) In addition, federal funds are used in maintaining military camps and headquarters such as are located in Camp Gagetown and Halifax. There have been special arrangements regarding freight rates and various other types of subsidies.

Driving through the Atlantic area or visiting it during the summer, everyone is struck with the charm of the countryside and sea coast; the area has great potential for tourists. The problem, of course, is the short season. There always seems to be some kind of a handicap. The tourist travelling on the Trans-Canada Highway and visiting some of the resorts may get the impression that the Maritimes are not so badly off as they are always claiming, but economic facts speak for themselves. Unemployment levels are higher than the national average at all times; personal income is low; teachers' salaries, professors' salaries, and average wages are lower than those in the other areas of Canada. There is not much doubt but that the area does suffer economically and thus has difficulty in financing education.

The population of the Maritimes tends to be fairly homogeneous. It is basically Anglo-Saxon but there are approximately 400,000 people of French origin in the Atlantic region. In New Brunswick the French-speaking people tend to be concentrated in what is known as the North Shore area but there are large numbers of French-speaking people scattered everywhere throughout the area. Until the B and B* Commission was organized there seemed to be little friction between English-and French-speaking peoples. However, recently, frictions are developing in New Brunswick although these are not yet of an unpleasant nature. In New Brunswick the French-speaking people have traditionally neglected to organize schools and have formed a relatively poor sector of the population. In the last few years this has been remedied with the program of Equal Opportunity which will be mentioned later.

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* **Bilingual and Bicultural**

There has always been an exodus of young people from this area to Western Canada, Central Canada, and the United States. This has been due to a great extent to a lack of economic opportunities and to the slow rate of growth. There is some complaint that the labour force is unreliable and rather relaxed. A typical Maritimer is likely to take a day off from the assembly line when the trout season opens or when hunting begins in the fall. There appears to be a scarcity of bosses in the sense that good foremen are hard to find. Many regret this attitude of the Maritimer; it can be taken as sensible but is hardly conducive to industrial development. Perhaps the educational system is partly to blame here if you think blame should be allocated for people being rather relaxed.

These rather general remarks may be summed up by stating that educational problems and methods of meeting them are conditioned by basic geography and economic factors. In the Atlantic area, these factors tend to create special problems because of the scatter of the population and the lack of financial support available from local activity. Yet in spite of this the area has maintained a reasonable level of schooling and has managed to supply a good share of the scholars, teachers, business and professional men who have been leaders in the other parts of Canada and to quite an extent in the United States. The area has also supplied its share, possibly more than its share of politicians.

The schools of this area are basically much like schools everywhere. There is the usual graded structure, now being modified; Grade I to Grades 11 or 12, followed by college or university, teacher training and technical and trade schools. There are, however, in each province some developments which are unusual or unique; these are based on tradition or on economic and social factors peculiar to the area and in some cases by a necessity to change practices which have become obsolete.

Newfoundland

Newfoundland has been unique in its school organization for many years. Schools were organized on a denominational basis, and there were no formal school districts levying local rates for education. A few districts were organized in such places as St. John's and Cornerbrook but formal districts with support from local taxes has not been the pattern in this province. In 1967 a commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Phillip Warren and sweeping changes in the organization were recommended, centralizing financial support and modifying the denominational structure.

Legislation was introduced in the 1969 session enabling the United Church, Anglican and Salvation Army to amalgamate and support one school system. The Pentecostal group have chosen to remain outside. The Roman Catholics will retain their own school system but will cooperate with the integrated group when it is in their interest to do so

With the changes in the fishing industry, the outports and small villages scattered around the coast are no longer viable and a program has been established to move the people to growth centres. In addition, of course, great efforts are being made to assist industry and give the province a stronger economy. This has enabled the province to establish larger schools and gain the advantages of consolidation. The three hundred school boards have been replaced with seventeen Integrated boards, eighteen Catholic boards and one Pentecostal board. None of the boards are elected. Each district has the usual supervisory personnel.

Newfoundland trains teachers in Memorial University and was one of the first provinces to put teacher training under university control.

The Smallwood Plan for providing free higher education to qualified students and to include living allowances and grants to students was certainly unique in Canada. The plan has been modified to quite a degree; the generous provisions first established were found to cost too much. Free tuition for all students and allowances for students in the third year or higher are now being given on the basis of need. Memorial University is establishing a medical school and the campus programs are expanding rapidly.

The usual reforms in curriculum are being carried out and the province has organized an excellent extension program offering courses in all areas. The program of non-credit courses involving members of the community is outstanding.

Prince Edward Island

Prince Edward Island is the smallest province in the Atlantic area. Many are familiar with the attractions of this area; its white sand beaches, warm ocean water, picturesque farms and, of course, the Confederation Centre. The Island has some 110,000 people earning their living basically from agriculture and the sea. It is not a wealthy province. Farmers are traditionally conservative and independent. The local school district, with the local school board, has been predominant in school organization in this province and still is. Plans are now being made, however, for reform. The Island will introduce legislation this year to establish five larger units in the province to replace the 338 school boards now in operation and to bring some uniformity into financial support. Despite the rather old fashioned system, the province has always maintained good educational standards. Its high schools, scattered throughout the province and generally very small, have been attended by students who have always been able to maintain reasonable records of performance in the universities and high scores on objective tests.

One of the most notable changes has been the reorganization of higher education. Saint Dunstan's University and Prince of Wales College have been united into a new University of Prince Edward Island which is now in the process of being established.

In September 1968, the Department of Education was reorganized into four divisions each under a Director. The Division of Youth and Educational Services, the Division of Elementary and Secondary Education, the Division of Vocational and Continuing Education and the Division of Administration. This restructuring eliminated the multi-directorate system that previously existed. It is hoped that this will bring more efficiency into the system and create a more unified approach. The salaries of school superintendents and senior departmental officials are less than those of many teachers and principals in the province. This would appear to be a rather unusual and unsatisfactory situation.

In following a rather fresh approach to Education, one or two rather unique practices have been or are now being developed. It appears that the Island is unique in that its guidance programme was started in the elementary grades and not in the high school grades as in other provinces. Another rather interesting development is that its community and school recreation and sports programmes are integrated and both are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education. In other provinces these two aspects are separated and are very often under different jurisdictions. Efforts made to coordinate community recreation activities and school activities with the use of school facilities have never been too successful. It is hoped that the Island will be able to pioneer in this regard and show how this can be done. Every attempt is being made in restructuring the curriculum in the province to involve the teachers themselves and a large percentage, estimated at over 15%, are now involved in curriculum work.

In general, education on the Island follows the pattern of that in other provinces. There is the usual development of new high schools and technical and trade schools in the larger regional areas, with consolidation and unification being carried out at all levels for greater efficiency and for the provision of better educational opportunities.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia was one of the first provinces to move into an organization and finance of Education which involved a basic foundation programme with the central authority providing funds, based on need, to bring the level of Education in each area up to the foundation standard. This was done in the early 50's. There has been very little modification of the organization since that time but the general growth of consolidations and larger units has been accelerated recently.

There are a number of unique developments in the province which are worthy of note. Perhaps the most important of these is the pioneering done by Nova Scotia in the use of television for classroom instruction. In 1962-63 courses in Mathematics and the Physical Sciences were presented through television to the Grade XI's in the province. To these were added in 1963-64 two courses in junior high school French, in 1964-65 a television course in coordinate Geometry and Trigonometry for Grade XII, and a general Science series for the intermediate grades of the elementary school were added. In 1964-67 a series of telecasts formed part of the in-service programme of orientation for teachers who would be teaching the Modern Mathematics courses. In 1969-70, seventeen full series are planned. It will be used in more than 2500 classrooms and viewed by more than 120,000 Nova Scotia students in the elementary and secondary schools as well as by students in many schools in the surrounding area.

It is believed that the province has been one of the first to introduce the use of a mobile reading instruction centre. The purpose of this as stated by the Department is to bring to Nova Scotia teachers, supervisors, parents, and school boards the opportunity to see demonstrated the usefulness of the latest media and methods devised under the guidance of the best informed authorities.

The province has also devised a special programme in what is known as medical laboratory technology. This appears to be similar to courses in the paramedical field offered in all provinces but is unique in that it is designed to train those who can give vital aid to the practicing physician in helping him to establish and verify his clinical diagnosis. It is a twenty-two month programme. Students must be sponsored by a hospital or provincial laboratory. They receive financial assistance and there is no tuition fee but there is a very strict selection of candidates.

The province is also putting a great deal of effort into the development of adult evening classes. These are similar to the evening classes conducted in most provinces under the Departments of Vocational Education but seem to be putting much more stress on Art, Music, Drama and the Crafts than is generally done in adult courses.

Nova Scotia has given the lead to the Atlantic area in an attempt to organize an Institute of Education. The purpose of an Institute would be to combine or coordinate the graduate work in Education given in all of the Atlantic universities. Special reports and investigations have been carried out on this and it now appears that an Institute will be established in Nova Scotia at least, with a possibility of institutions in the other Atlantic area becoming part of it at a later date. The Atlantic area suffers to some degree from a kind of parochialism and it is rather difficult to get the institutions of higher learning to cooperate in any effective way. No institution in this area, at the present time, offers graduate work above the Master's level in Education and it is hoped that an Institute which will make this possible can be established.

The new secondary school curriculum in Nova Scotia follows the general pattern of reorganization being carried out throughout Canada, but more stress seems to be put on the provision of general courses at the secondary level, rather than on specialized courses such as those planned in New Brunswick and in some of the other provinces. The stress on general courses seems to follow the idea that specialized courses in the high schools may be a wast of time and money, in that working conditions and the skills required in modern industry are changing so rapidly that the training of students should be left to industry or to post-secondary institutions. Whether Nova Scotia's programme was deliberately planned as being unique or not, it seems to offer a reasonable kind of training which may be very suitable for the present day world.

New Brunswick

New Brunswick probably provides the most interesting developments. In 1967 the whole municipal structure of the Province was re-organized; counties were abolished and many functions formerly carried out at the municipal level such as welfare, justice and education were transferred, almost in total, to the provincial authorities at Fredericton. The number of districts was reduced from 422 to 33. The new school boards – partly elected, partly appointed, have very little authority in actual practice since budgets are controlled by Treasury. This is necessary because all monies for the financing of education are now provided by the Province. There are no local school taxes, although provision is made for special assessments where districts have approved special programs such as school bands or swimming pools. To date there have been no such special assessments.

The Province obtains the revenue for school financing by a tax of $1.50 on all real estate valued at its current sale value and from a business tax which is also levied on the value of the premises occupied at the $1.50 rate. The monies so raised do not provide enough funds and the Province dips into the consolidated revenue fund for the balance. There are no earmarked taxes. All school property is now held by the Province, all school board debts were taken over, all new buildings are constructed by the Provincial Department of Public Works with school boards involved in the planning but not having the final decision regarding design and location.

The Province negotiates with the New Brunswick Teachers' Association for a single provincial teachers' salary scale. There is no negotiating with school boards, nor are the local boards allowed to supplement the provincial scale in any way. The Association has become much more powerful and important with centralization and is now in a position to exert great influence on education and to put pressure on the Department of Education. At the recent annual general meeting of the Association over one hundred resolutions were considered, many of them dealing with curriculum and administration. Centralization leads to confrontation.

Curriculum is strongly centralized, but the curriculum committee and the Director are urging teachers to develop their own programs, and subscribe to the philosophy of decentralization. The free distribution of school books to all grades tends to put the curriculum in a strait jacket.

Recent innovations, such as continuous progress and term teaching, are being tried out in many schools. The central authority is cautious and keeps a very tight control over what is being done in the fear that some of the programs will fail. For example, it strongly advises that principals of high schools allocate equal time to all subjects to simplify scheduling, particularly where individual programming is being attempted.

The Province plans to build over fifty senior composite high schools. Some of these are now in the planning stage and one or two have been built. They incorporate the latest ideas in school design. Some citizens are fearful lest the Province is unable to afford these buildings, and there appears to have been a distinct slow-down in the last few months. In order to attempt to get building costs down, the Department of Public Works, in cooperation with the educational authorities, has designed a special modular type school involving a five foot module using prestressed concrete panels. There are no load bearing walls and the design is very flexible. The experimental schools are now being built, but it is too soon to assess the cost and to know whether or not this represents a breakthrough in school design.

It is much too soon to assess the success or failure of the New Brunswick program. Frictions are developing between local areas and the school authorities since local boards are coming to realize that their control is nominal and they have no real responsibility. Moreover, areas that would like to select special teachers, or move forward with special programs, find themselves in difficulties. Basically the problem is that of devising some procedure whereby a local authority can have freedom for decision making with a central authority providing the funds. No way of doing this has been found. Decision making goes with fiscal responsibility. Perhaps the importance of local decision making is over stressed but most educators regard it as being very important. It is in this area that the Equal Opportunity Programme of New Brunswick will require adjustment.

Teacher Training

Teacher training in New Brunswick is carried out in the teachers' colleges and in the universities. The Province is bicultural and bilingual to a high degree. Approximately 40% of the citizens are of French origin and about 1/3 speak French as a first language. There has always been a very good relationship between English and French in the Province, and there has been a fair representation of each group on the curriculum committee in recent years. However, the Province has only recently established a proper training program for French-speaking teachers. There are now two teachers colleges, one in Fredericton for English-speaking teachers, and one in Moncton for French-speaking teachers. The English-speaking universities, University of New Brunswick, St. Thomas and Mt. Allison, provide training for English secondary teachers, while the University of Moncton and its affiliates provide the training for the French-speaking teachers. Due to the single salary scale, it is necessary to maintain equal standards for each level of teacher certification. This is proving to be very difficult and is likely to cause friction. The French-speaking teachers are demanding a separate teachers' organization, and it appears that it will be formed. This is an unhappy development.

Graduate work in Education is carried out at the master's level at the University of New Brunswick. It also offers a special program linked with the Teachers College and the Technical Institute of Moncton, for the advanced training of elementary teachers and the training of teachers in Home Economics, Business and Commerce and Industrial work. This program is believed to be unique.

A report on teacher training is now in the hands of the Government and it is hoped that the Teachers Colleges will come under the universities as a result of this report.

Technical and Vocational Education

New Brunswick has always taken advantage of the Federal "shared-cost" programs for vocational and technical education. Special technical and vocational schools were built with Federal aid in the last few years under the Technical and Vocational Training Education Act, but New Brunswick and the other provinces in the Atlantic area were unable to take full advantage of this Act as Ontario did, because of the lack of funds, and because of the special restrictions on school size which made it impossible for the poorer provinces, with scattered populations, to qualify for the grants. Nevertheless the Province has a good network of technical and trade schools, and efforts are being made to increase these and to increase the offerings. The high school program is, however, comprehensive, and there appears to be some duplication of services in the programs now being planned.

Higher Education

As recommended in the *Report on the Study on Higher Education* carried out in 1962, the Province has set up a commission on higher education with representatives from the Universities, business, labor and government. This commission has a permanent secretariat and now allocates all funds for post-secondary education. This includes the funds, roughly one half of the money being spent, made available by the Federal Government for this area of education. The Commission claims to be using a formula in allocating the grants. The so-called formula is based on the number of students with weighting used for fairness. The universities are having difficulty financing since the funds available do not make it possible for the New Brunswick universities to keep up with the national average, and the formula-financing appears to be a kind of myth.

Since federal aid for post-secondary education is not based on need but is rather offered in proportion to money spent, there is a tendency for the wealthy areas to receive most aid and the poorer regions least. As a result educational disparities among the various parts of Canada are simply accentuated. Certainly the Atlantic area is experiencing difficulty in maintaining its universities. Some change in the policy of federal aid is necessary.

VII

UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF CANADIAN EDUCATION

By Margaret Gillett
McGill University

To attempt to isolate and analyze the "unique characteristics of Canadian education" seems to be playing once more the great Centennial Year game, to become involved in the treadmill questions: "What is Canada? " "What is a Canadian? " "What is Canadian education? " Since everyone seemed to enjoy Centennial Year, perhaps no one will mind a *reprise*, and perhaps the national passion for self-examination, the hungry hunt for identity, suggests in itself a characteristic which is distinctively (though surely not *uniquely*) Canadian. This raises an important aspect of today's topic: are we to consider educational traits that are *Canadian* (i.e. that are found in Canada), or that are *distinctively Canadian* (i.e. that are found in significant quantity and distribution in Canada), or that are *uniquely Canadian* (i.e. that are found only in Canada)? The title suggests this last – characteristics that are found only in Canada – but one wonders whether such traits really exist. We may be faced with the paradox that there are no unique characteristics in Canadian education, yet Canadian education is unique.

In recent weeks I have asked a number of people in academic life – teachers, administrators, professors, students – "What are the unique characteristics of Canadian education? " Some of them thought it was a joke! Their unrehearsed reactions ranged from sweeping generalizations like, "It's ten to fifty years behind the times," to very specific observations such as, "It's where school corridors are filled with rubbers and snow boots." Others pointed out idiosyncrasies such as "It is the only known 'advanced' country where foreign soldiers are imported to serve in schools" – but the fact that French military conscripts *are* used in some Quebec schools is surely a local aberration rather than a typical national characteristic.

Though it is difficult to get at many "hard" facts, there seems to be a common feeling that Canadian education is middle-of-the-road, bland, undistinguished and undistinguishable. On the other hand, Canadians who have thought about their education believe it has plenty of strong points, albeit these are mostly derived from abroad; that it is to a considerable extent a reflection of older, stronger systems – somewhat as if Canadian education has sunbeams but no sun.

In attempting to see it in focus, it seems desirable to identify some characteristics associated with Canadian education, to examine them, and then try to decide whether or not they are *uniquely* Canadian. Ideally, this would necessitate an encyclopaedic and universal treatment. Unfortunately (or mercifully for my audience), I lay no claim to omniscience so that the material that follows is by no means exhaustive; indeed, it is, as McLuhan would say, merely a probe and invites elaboration and criticism during the discussion period. I have considered a relatively limited number of characteristics but before I embark on any examination of them, I should like to paraphrase Michael Sadler's warning to comparative educators who are hardy (or foolhardy) enough to study North

American education. Almost seventy years ago he reminded us that:

> No one can form a shrewd judgement on [Canadian] education who merely sees what he is bid to see, and who refrains from employing his critical faculty as well as his organ of admiration. The comparative study of national systems of education is a delicate enterprise. The path to truth lies. . .between harsh, censorious judgements of other people's failings and too ready belief in the superior merits of other people's achievements. But the first requisite for the intelligent study of a foreign system of education is sympathy. We must do as we would be done by. [1]

In 1964 when he was doing a survey of literature and culture in Canada, Edmund Wilson asked a little plaintively, "How can one get a hold on such a country? " – a country he describes variously as "that hemless, hardly peopled continuum of water and land and sky," [2] as "a compartmented, not welded, community, and not really a community," [3] and as a country that is "uncoordinated, unblended, indigestible." [4] I do not know how palatable my comments will be, but I hope you will not need many academic Alka Seltzers; and I regret it if the *hors d'oeuvres* may seem a little stale, because it appears impossible to enter any discussion of Canadian education without mentioning Section 93 of the British North America Act and the fact that, for a hundred years, education has been the responsibility of the provinces.

This reference to the B.N.A.Act is more than mere convention and I feel obliged to take note of it at the outset, even though the focus of this paper is contemporary rather than historical. If, however, one were to take an historical approach, it would be fairly easy to assert that, since each of the provinces has developed in its own individual way, each has its unique qualitites. Think about it – the school organization in Quebec where the French-Catholic/English Protestant dualism became legalized through the Acts of 1841 and 1846; the public school system of Ontario established through the energy and acumen of Egerton Ryerson; the Western schools set up under religious auspices and the patronage of the Hudson's Bay Company; the first school legislation in British Columbia (1865) which vested authority in the Governor who insisted that all public schools be non-sectarian; the growth of schools in Newfoundland through the efforts of missionaries and the consequent development of five denominational systems. The variations could hardly be more different. These, plus the striking diversity of relationships between Church and State in the operation of schools makes it a great deal easier to see the uniqueness of the provincial school systems than the uniqueness of Canadian education as such. When Newfoundland with its unusual educational structure joined Confederation, J.G. Althouse noted that "it brings into the Dominion a unique school system which would resist coercion into a national pattern if one existed. But of course no such pattern does exist."[5] And one has to agree. No national pattern of schooling exists, so all one can do is return to the B.N.A.Act and repeat that education is a provincial responsibility.

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[1] Michael Sadler, *Educational Review*, Vol.25 (March 1903), pp.218-9

[2] Edmund Wilson, "O Canada," *The New Yorker*, November 14,1964, p.84.

[3] *Ibid.*, p.65.

[4] *Ibid.*, November 28, p.201.

[5] J.G.Althouse, *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education,* Toronto: Gage, 1949, p.20.

But then one must add the rider that, nevertheless, the Canadian Government plays a role in education, one that is apart from the direct operation of regular public schools.

None of this is really unique. Such an arrangement is common enough in countries with federal governments. Two obvious comparisons are the United States and Australia. In the United States, as we know, education is still one of the jealously guarded State's rights and schools are controlled by local school boards; in Australia, the Constitution of 1901 gave the Commonwealth certain powers and anything not specifically mentioned became a State responsibility, thus, perhaps by default, the State Governments operate the schools (incidentally, without benefit of local school boards). In all three countries, the national governments participate in education. For example, the Canadian Government does so through tax credits to the Provinces for universities, it operates schools for children of military personnel and for Eskimos and Indians on reservations, it administers the Canadian International Development Agency and the Company of Young Canadians – both broadly educative agencies, it provides the money for the Canada Council; the U.S.Government, from the Land Grant Act of the 1860's to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of the 1960's, through the Fulbright-Hays, Smith-Mundt, and National Defense Education Acts and others, has made enormous resources available to State and local governments, educational institutions, and individuals; the Australian Government offers scholarships, operates schools for aborigine children, gives language instruction to migrants. In short, all three federal governments have established special schools for native peoples, all three provide education for children associated with the armed forces, all three participate in international education programs, all three provide money for cultural or general educational activities.

But both the United States and Australia have central administrative units which provide, inter alia, research and information services and which are responsible for certain special educational programs. These are the U.S.Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (parenthetically, the new HEW Secretary Finch recently added $25 million to the 1969 budget for educational research), and the Australian Department of Education and Culture (formerly the Commonwealth Office of Education). This type of central agency Canada does not have – despite the urgings of Dr. Joseph Katz [6] and others. Canada's Council of Ministers of Education might be called a meditative body, but it lacks the machinery, mandate or money to form or implement national educational policy. Suggestions have been made that, nevertheless, it might take initiative in certain areas of national concern. For example, A.B.Hodgetts has made a most persuasive case for the establishment, through the impetus of the Council of Ministers of Education, of an interprovincial Canadian Studies Consortium. This would develop and distribute Canadian Studies materials and teaching strategies for use in elementary and secondary schools across the country. [7] To the best of my knowledge, no action has yet been taken in this direction.

Is Canada then unique at least in something it does not have? No. It shares this lack of a national education office with other countries including, for instance, the Federal Republic of Germany. But what Canada does have is a National Film Board, a federal

[6] Joseph Katz, "A Canadian Office of Education," *The Journal of Education of the Faculty of Education*," U.B.C., No.11 (March 1965), pp. 105-6.

[7] A.B.Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage? – A Study of Civic Education in Canada*, Toronto: O.I.S.E., 1968, pp. 118-9.

government agency which makes and distributes something like 200 films and 50 film strips annually. A great many of these are educational – educational in both the general sense and in the sense that they may be and are used for course work in educational institutions. It is estimated that about half the total N.F.B. audience each year is made up of students in schools and colleges. This is significant exposure, for in 1967-68 there were 788,063 showings of N.F.B. films in Canada to audiences totalling more than 41 million. Also included in N.F.B. production last year were 158 8 mm. film loops designed especially for schools.[8]

It is true that films are produced and distributed under the auspices of many branches of the U.S.Government and by the Australian News and Information Bureau, but neither the United States nor Australia has a structural unit like the N.F.B. And, as we know, N.F.B. films are good, winners of international awards. They are, without doubt, a very special asset to Canadian education. Is it possible, then, that one of the unique (and admirable) characteristics of Canadian education is the National Film Board?

If the structure of the school system is not unmistakably Canadian, what about the universities? Are they uniquely Canadian? Again we find diversity – Canada's fifty or so degree-granting institutions range from large universities like Toronto (20,000) to small ones like Bishop's, (1,000); most of those in the East were established under Church auspices, the western ones by Provincial governments, a few had private founders; in most, English is the language of instruction, in some it is French, a few are bilingual. While academe is currently changing before our eyes, it is still possible to detect basic patterns of university governance in Canada and to discover that the Boards of Governors traditionally drawn from the business community are based on U.S. models, as are the professional faculties and the graduate schools. To round out the picture, we see English influence is apparent in places like Kings, U.N.B., and Bishop's; the Scottish imprint is undeniable at Dalhousie, the French at the Université de Montréal, and so on. But those who were at the C.I.E.S.C. conference last year, or who have read the *Papers: 1968 Discours,* need no further evidence of foreign influence. [9] It is perhaps too soon to conclude whether or not Waterloo's decision to follow Laval's example and establish unicameral government [10] will set a trend that will develop into a distinctively Canadian pattern of academic administration. It is safe to say, however, that many Canadian universities [11] – along with institutions elsewhere – are currently re-examining their structures and perhaps a uniquely Canadian institution of higher learning will emerge. In passing, we might remember that earlier in the present century, Canadians adapted, or rather adopted, U.S.-inspired Progressivism and that the Canadian version of the activity method at least had a unique name – the "enterprise system."

After surveying the existing structures and attempting to decide whether Canadian universities are uniquely Canadian, Henry Johnson wrote:

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[8] National Film Board of Canada, *Annual Report 1967-68,* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968,p.5.

[9] cf. "Foreign Influences in Canadian Education," (Andrew F. Skinner – "Scottish Influence;" Louis-Philippe Audet – "French Influence;" Willard Brehaut – "English Influence;" R.L. Schnell – "American Influence"), *Papers: 1968: Discours,* Toronto: CIESC/University of Toronto Press, 1969, pp.13-48.

[10] cf. *University Affairs,* Vol. 10, No. 5 (April, 1969), p. 3.

[11] e.g. McGill's tripartite Commission on the Nature of the University, Moncton's Laizon Commission etc. .

> While acknowledging. . .European and American influences, no one could really mistake Canadian universities for either English, American, or French. Perhaps their most Canadian quality is our propensity to borrow ideas wherever good ones are to be found.[12]

Is then a "propensity to borrow ideas" a unique characteristic of Canadian education? Hardly. Countries have been borrowing from each other since time and education began. Borrowing is simply inevitable for any country with a colonial background – visitors to Australia[13] who expected to find a young, vigorous, "mod" society with schools to match, have been disappointed to discover so many derived ideas and practices and a system which suggested nothing so much as a child dressed-up in its Victorian grandmother's hand-me-downs. Certainly Canada has imported pedagogy from the United States, for example, but then the United States has done its own share of borrowing. This was particularly true in the 19th century, in the days of educators like Benjamin Silliman, Calvin Stowe, Henry Barnard, Horace Mann. Indeed, the years from 1820-1850 have been called "America's great initial period of international borrowing."[14] Exchange is simply part of progress and it is perhaps worthy of note that one of the most recent texts in comparative education, Noah and Eckstein's *Toward a Science of Comparative Education,* has an informative chapter on the subject of educational borrowing.[15]

If the "propensity to borrow" is not uniquely Canadian, still it remains an important characteristic of Canadian education – though perhaps in the second hundred years of nationhood, its prominence may diminish. Canada is emerging from its protracted adolescence.

Another propensity, one which shows no sign of diminishing, is the habit of holding commissions of inquiry into the problems of education and related issues. Since World War II, each province has had at least one, the Federal Government two (Massey and B. & B.), while national educational organizations also follow suit. For example, the Canadian Teachers Federation is currently sponsoring a Commission on French with a mandate "déterminer sur le plan national, les problèmes de l'éducation relatifs aux enseignants de langue française aux francophones et anglophones;" there was the CAUT Duff-Berdhal study of "University Government in Canada" and now the Ford Foundation financed inquiry into the relationship of universities and government in Canada.

This Canadian concern for commissions is again not unique – we readily think of England's Newsom, Crowther, Robbins, and Plowden Reports or Australia's Murray and Wyndham Reports. But Canadians do seem to be singularly addicted to this cautious approach to innovation and reform; it is an established part of the Canadian way of doing things; it is an element of the Canadian style. It has been epitomized by Frank

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[12] F.Henry Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education,* Toronto: McGraw-Hill of Canada, 1968, p. 184.

[13] See for example, R.Freeman Butts, *Basic Assumptions of Australian Education,* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1955.

[14] Stewart E.Fraser, *International Education: Understandings and Misunderstandings,* Nashville: Peabody International Center, 1969, p. 14.

[15] Harold J.Noah & Max A.Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education,* London: Macmillan, 1969, pp.14-33

Scott when he says of Prime Minister Mackenzie King –

The height of his ambition
Was to pile a Parliamentary Committee
on a Royal Commission.

There are many other aspects of the overall picture of Canadian education we could examine. These might include both present conditions and apparent trends such as:

1. increasing expenditure (e.g. in 1961, the total outlay for education in Canada represented 5.1% of the gross national product,by 1964 about 8% of Canada's total national income was spent on formal education[16]);
2. growing enrollments (e.g. the 1961 census showed 58.5% of persons 15-19 years of age attending schools, compared with only 40.4% ten years earlier[17]; furthermore, the population itself is growing and the 1961-91 increase has been projected at 92%[18]);
3. urbanization and consolidation of schools (in 1901, 63% of Canadians lived on farms or in unincorporated villages, while the 1966 census classified 73.6% of Canadians as urban dwellers[19]).

All parts of Canada are changing – from the outports of Newfoundland to the islands off Vancouver, and the mystic voice that told Maria Chapdelaine, "Au pays du Quebec nothing is to die and nothing is to change" has been drowned out in the not-so-quiet revolution. But while all these changes, traits, trends are indisputably part of the Canadian scene, they are also being duplicated in countries around the world. If anything is uniquely Canadian, it is merely the particulare rates of change, not the nature of the changes themselves.

If we turn from general considerations to the schools, we find that the content of courses in Canada's educational institutions does not at first glance appear unique or even very different from the European or American models. However, it must be admitted that this has to be the only country in the world where "O Canada" is sung at opening exercises and without doubt it has the world's highest number of Canadian history and literature courses. In addition, text materials are becoming more "Canadian", a new chair in Canadian Studies was recently endowed at Mt.Allison, and across the nation there are specialized university courses and research programs in areas such as the Geology of Canada (Manitoba), Forest Ecology (U.N.B.), Canadian Society and Politics (Simon Fraser), French-Canadian Studies (McGill), Ethnology of Canada(Carleton) – all dealing with matters germaine to Canada, its geography, economy, or society. I do not have reliable statistics, but I suspect that the Canadianization process is gathering momentum – in spite of the fact that English schools in Quebec continue to teach Parisian, not Canadian, French.

In that the content involved in this process is specifically Canadian, this trend might be said to be unique (even though Canadian Studies programs are beginning to flourish south of the border). In that this trend represents a rejection of complete dependence on foreign and/or traditional studies, that it grants academic respectability to the local and the national, it is shared by most countries of the so-called "developing" world.

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[16] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Year Book*, 1968. p.362.

[17] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada 1964*, p.2

[18] B.Y.Card, *Trends and Change in Canadian Society*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968, p.17.

[19] Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1966*, "Population: Rural and Urban Distribution."

The variations across Canada of in-puts and out-puts of the provincial school systems have been made clear in John Cheal's well-known study[20]. Still, in spite of local differences, researchers have found it possible to generalize about the methods and materials, the attitudes and approaches in Canadian schools. One recent analysis, the National History Project, found a curious uniformity of mediocrity in history teaching, an area called "a labyrinth of confusion and inefficiency." The Report indicated that "the deficiences of the past – deficiences that have prompted so much futile study and comment for more than thirty years – are being perpetuated with varying degress of intensity in all parts of Canada."[21] It concluded that courses in Canadian history lack contemporary meaning but are based on the interests and concerns that preoccupied academic historians of the 1920's; civic education in Canada is achieving few of its stated objectives; Canadian studies do not give most young Canadians a constructive sense of belonging to a unique, identifiable civic culture.

Canada is surely not unique in expecting education to develop citizens of the nation. Is Canada unique in its alleged failure to do so? I doubt it. Do you recall the Bereday/Stretch study of curricula in grades 5-8 in U.S. schools[22]? It showed that Americans spend more time on Americanization, political education, indoctrination (call it what you will) than do the Russians on comparable pursuits. But the children of the elementary schools of the early 60's are now the students of the colleges – and never before has there been so much protest by the young against the U.S. nation and its public policies. I am not aware of any similar study in Australia, but I suspect one would produce results like those of the National History Project – at least I know that in my day, Australian history was the deadest of subjects, the option to be avoided at all costs.

Probably one of the most important and contentious problems in Canada and Canadian education is the question of language. This is a nation-wide issue, not a provincial one. The nationally-sponsored B.&B.Commission, which to date has cost more than $8 million of Canadian taxpayers' money, recognized Canada as a bi-lingual country and recommended the establishment of language zones wherever 10% of the population speak the minority language. Prime Minister Trudeau has staked his political reputation on his Official Languages Bill. However, according to newspaper reports, dissent is growing in British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces are in open revolt, and in the

[20] John E.Cheal, *Investment in Canadian Youth – An Analysis of Input-Output Differences Among Provincial School Systems,* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963.

[21] A.B.Hodgetts, *op.cit.,* p. 115.

[22] G.Z.F.Bereday & Bonnie B.Stretch, "Political Education in the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.," *Comparative Education Review,* Vol.VII, No. 1, (June 1963), pp.9-16.

Atlantic Provinces the Trudeau bill is suffering from "fallout" hostility to the New Brunswick Language Bill[23]. Public leaders of all political parties are given to making pronouncements on the language issue. A recent statement (apparently innocent of language learning theory), attributed to Real Caouette, says, "the solution to the separatist problem in Canada is education, which would make children in Quebec and the other provinces bilingual in six months."[24] Six months!

Without doubt, the language issue is an educational matter and is reflected in schools and colleges across the nation, in their methods, curricula, and structures. It is a topic that receives much current attention, but of course it is not new – remember Ontario's Bill 17, the arguments in Manitoba, the disturbances in New Brunswick.[25] The issue is particularly vital in Quebec where in recent months there have been a number of significant incidents engineered, or supported, by separatists or groups such as Raymond Lemieux's *Mouvement pour l'Independence Scolaire:*

1. St.Léonards – in an area where about 70% of the tax payers are of Italian origin, the local school board decided to provide schooling in the French language only, thus denying migrant parents freedom to choose the language of their children's instruction.
2. Bill 85 – introduced by Premier Bertrand to protect English language rights, satisfied no one, cost M.Bertrand considerable prestige, and was allowed to die. In its place another royal commission (Gendron) on languages!
3. McGill français – an attempt on the part of the M.I.S., McGill lecturer Stanley Gray, and others to make McGill truly part of the French-speaking Province of Quebec by making it a unilingual (French only) institution. Other members of the university community go along with a bilingual university, or at least more instruction in French. However, McGill's national and international position as an English language university has been defended by Dean Stanley Frost who points out that McGill not only legitimately teaches the English-speaking minority of the province, but also serves the French population. "Let me remind you," he wrote recently, "that McGill regulates the daily diet of 30,000 cows in Quebec, the vast majority of which belong to French-speaking. farmers. McGill also runs a soil analysis diagnostic and prescription service, in whichever language the bacilli prefer. McGill's Montreal Neurological Institute cares for damaged brains, oblivious to whether the speech facility areas are charged with French or English vocabularies. . ."[26]

While all this language business is important, fascinating, disturbing, is it unique? Yes, in its particulars. That is, the situation in which a minority French-speaking group is working to maintain its identity and extend its political power in a predominantly English-speaking nation and under the shadow of the United States, one of the most powerful nations in the world and one which also happens to be English-speaking. The melting-pot theory avoided the bilingual problem for countries like the U.S. and Australia, but other nations – Ireland, India, Belgium, to name a few – have linguistic problems not unlike Canada's. The parallel has been drawn between McGill's position as a major university with a minority language and that of Louvain in Belgium. There, French is the minority language, Flemish the majority; in recent years Louvain has changed, as a result of M.I.S.-type pressures, from a French-language institution, to a bilingual, to Flemish. English-speaking Quebecers know this and realize that the bilingual problem, while it is peculiarly domestic, has its counterpart elsewhere and they do not want what happened at Louvain to be repeated at McGill.

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[23] Montreal *Gazette*, April 15, 1969, p.37.

[24] Montreal *Gazette*, April 15, 1969, p.37.

[25] For a useful summary of the language issue reflecting the French point of view, see Louis-Philippe Audet, "Education," *Facets of French Canada*, Montreal: Editions Fides, 1967, pp.56-107.

[26] S.B.Frost, Dean of Graduate Studies and Research, "Letter to the Editor," *McGill Reporter*, Vol. I, No. 29 (3 April, 1969), p. 3.

One of the recognized characteristics of Canadian society is its social and ethnic diversity, producing what the late Kaspar Naegele called "the rich differentiation of consensus." However, sociologists have noted a certain smugness in Canadians' *weltanschauung,* in their attitude toward other nations and toward minority groups at home. There is a tendency for Canadians to think of themselves as "above" their neighbours below the border[27] and to assume that, unlike the U.S., Canada is free from discrimination. Evidence suggests this is a false assumption. School systems, here as elsewhere, tend to be geared toward white, middle-class values and to discriminate against the colored, the foreign-born, the female, and the poor.[28] Discrimination persists even at the university level – witness the recent report on men's and women's salaries.[29] Also, Canada's "assumption of quiet moral superiority"[30] cannot be matched by performance. While it is now generally accepted that education is a basic determining factor in raising people's potential earning power, and while better education in Canada appears to have improved individual labor earnings by about 30% in the fifty years from 1911 to 1961, this represents merely half the comparable achievement in the U.S. It has been estimated that "about one-third of the income difference per man prevailing in the two countries at the beginning of the 1960's appears to have been the result of lower Canadian educational attainments."[31]

If the "quiet moral superiority" cannot be justified, it nevertheless appears to be a distinctive Canadian characteristic – albeit, a paradoxical one, for Canada's national inferiority complex is also well-known. Perhaps this is typified by Hugh MacLennan's character, Geoffrey Wain, in *Barometer Rising* who "never really believed that anything above the second rate could exist in Canada, a man who had not thought it necessary to lick the boots of the English but had merely taken it for granted that they mattered and Canadians didn't."

[27] S.M.Lipset, *The First New Nation,* New York: Basic Books, 1963, pp. 257-8.

[28] See, for example, Guy Rocher, "The Right to Education," *McGill Journal of Education,* Vol. III, No.2 (Fall 1968), pp. 99-119; and, of course, John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp.165-198.

[29] R.A.H.Robson, "A Comparison of Men's and Women's Salaries in the Academic Profession," C.A.U.T. *Bulletin,* Vol. 17, No. 3 (February 1969),pp.50-75.

[30] Lipset, *loc. cit.*

[31] Gordon W. Bertram, "Education and Canada's Economic Growth," in Card, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

Again, this superior/inferior ambivalance is present in other places, though in varying proportions. In Australia, for instance, people tend to believe (also without much justification) that their schooling is more solid and worthy than that in America, yet they too suffer from vestiges of colonial inferiority feelings.

If Canada's attitude is not unique, it is probably stronger because of the proximity of the jolly green giant which, so they say, owns Canadian industry, controls the mass media, manipulates the textbook market, and staffs the universities – so that Canadians are concerned not only about repatriating the constitution, but with repossessing Canadian industry, re-allocating Canadian advertising, reclaiming Canadian personnel lost in the brain-drain[32], and re-staffing Canadian universities with a majority of Canadians.[33] While, in the past Canadians may have been too polite to scrawl "Yankee Go Home" on campus walls, on May 17 last representatives of eleven Canadian universities held a symposium in Montreal on the Americanization of Canadian higher education and they set up a committee to consider imposing a quota system for U.S. academics in this country. Canadian intellectuals have also recently produced a searing little anti-American volume, *The New Romans.*[34] Yet for all its cleverness and wit, it is not unique in its attitude; anti-Americanism is a world-wide phenomenon and Servan-Shreiber's book, *The American Challenge,* was on the best seller list in France and elsewhere for weeks. Nevertheless, Canada has a special love-hate relationship with the U.S. which, in terms of education means borrowing ideas, research findings, techniques and teachers. . .but offsetting all this by maintaining a protective feeling of superiority.

Perhaps after all, we can agree with Professor W.L.Morton's judgment that "Canada is not a second-rate United States, still less a United States that failed. Canadian history is rather an important chapter in a distinct and even unique human endeavor: the civilization of a northern arctic land. . . .Because of its separate origin on the northern frontier, Canadian life to this day is marked by a northern quality and a strong seasonal rhythm. The line which marks off the frontier from the farmstead, the wilderness from the baseland, the hinterland from the metropolis, runs through every Canadian psyche."[35]

In the past it has been shown that Canadian students tend to be conservative.[36] Yet one of the most turbulent issues across contemporary Canada is student unrest and recent studies show there is a strong counter-trend against traditional values.[37] But everyone knows student protest is a global phenomenon with common idealistic cause as well as specific local content. Even in the "old days" Canadian students were not so tame – witness the following account of "the treatment" schoolboys gave their teachers in the '40s. It is readily identifiable as coming from Montreal, yet it is universal:

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[32] Department of Manpower, *Operation Retrieval,* Ottawa: Queens Printer, 1967.

[33] "Canadian Universities: Are They Made in U.S.A.," *McGill Reporter,* April 3, 1969; see also *Weekend Magazine,* March, 1969; and Montreal *Gazette,* May 17, 1969, p.8, May 19, p. 3.

[34] Al Purdy, ed., *The New Romans: Candid Canadian Opinion of the U.S.,* Edmonton: M.G.Hurtig, 1968.

[35] W.L.Morton, *The Canadian Identity,* Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961, p. 93.

[36] cf. William Knill, "The Teen-age Sub-Culture," Part Four: "Values Held by High School Students," *The Saskatchewan Bulletin,* Vol. 29 (May 1963), pp.60-5; and David Friesen, "Value Climates in Canadian High Schools," *The Canadian Administrator,* Vol.6,No.1 (October 1966), pp. 1-4.

[37] Charles W. Hobart, " 'Growing Up Absurd'," in Card, *op.cit.,* p. 148ff.

> The treatment took more than one form. With Mr. Jackson, who wore a hearing aid, the boys spoke softer and softer in class until all they did was move their lips in a pretence of speech and Mr. Jackson raised his hearing aid to its fullest capacity. Then all thirty-eight boys shouted out at once and Mr. Jackson fled the physics lab holding his hands over his ears. The boys retaliated against Mr. Coldwell by sending movers, taxis, and ambulances to his door. Mr. Feeney was something else again. He would seize on each new boy and ask him, "Do you know what the Jewish national anthem is? "
>
> "No, Sir."
>
> So Mr. Feeney would go to the board and write, "To the Bank, To the Bank."
>
> "Do you know how the Jews make an 'S'? "
>
> "No, Sir."
>
> Mr. Feeney would go to the board, make an "S", and draw two strokes through it. Actually, he meant his jokes in a friendly spirit and the sour reactions he usually got puzzled him. Anyway, the boys got even with Mr. Feeney by filling out coupons for books that came in plain brown wrappers with his daughter's name and, with cruel accuracy, by writing away for bust developers for his wife.[38]

As for the more general and militant student protests – one readily thinks of the sit-ins and take-overs at Simon Fraser, U.B.C., Ottawa, McGill, U.N.B., as well as the C.E.G.E.P. strikes throughout Quebec. But don't forget that the Laval students participated actively in the great asbestos strike of 1949. Perhaps Canada's claim to uniqueness in the protest department is that it has put on the most expensive riot – the one at Sir George Williams University where the computer center was wrecked with damage approaching $2 million. Amid all the campus uproar, Canada shares with other countries an extraordinary number of entries in the "Presidents Wanted" section of the academic vacancies lists (The Montreal *Gazette* of May 3, 1969 accounts for eight such openings.)

A few years ago, Dr. Joseph Katz wrote:

> Perhaps the foremost characteristic of Canadian education today is that of a more or less strict adherence to the principle that a good education is one which produces a self-disciplined person, possessed of a general education which has given him both depth and breadth of understanding.[39]

It is difficult for anyone over thirty to quarrel with the values suggested here, but I wonder if Dr. Katz would make the same judgment in 1969 that he did in 1956? In this changing society, with its diversifying economy, urbanization, speeding technology, sit-ins, drop-outs, and Rochdale Colleges, does this still hold true? We are fortunate that Dr. Katz is here today so we can ask him. And our chairman, Dr. Andrew Skinner, once indicated that philosophy of education exists in Canada, but that there is no

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[38] Mordecai Richler, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964, p. 13.

[39] Joseph Katz, *Canadian Education Today*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill of Canada, 1956, p. 234.

Canadian philosophy of education.[40] Does he still agree with this? Do we?

Perhaps it *is* possible, without resorting too severely to stereotypes, to discern a Canadian approach to education. In the context of a recent international conference on curriculum innovation, one observer (an Englishman) identified national differences thus:

> The English – with important individual exceptions – were impatient of theory and intensely pragmatic in their approach. They doubted the value of wasting much time discussing the aims of education. As one very distinguished English member of the conference put it in an aside over coffee: 'I've always thought that to define the aims of education in general terms is more or less meaningless; to do it more precisely is downright dangerous'. . . .
>
> The Americans, however, included among their number distinguished professors of education who had grown up in a tradition in which it was respectable and important to discuss curricular matters in theoretical terms. They came armed with a language in which to do it. They were ready and eager to conceptualize where the English were only prepared to follow their noses.
>
> With the Canadians nearer to the Americans in many ways, but more firmly anchored to administrative considerations, the culture clash was complete. . .[41]

And again the reporter commented, "If the English (some of them) retreated into myth [that of teacher autonomy], the Americans seemed to react by advancing still further into theory and abstraction, while the Canadians took refuge in the administration of curriculum renewal."[42]

Does this surprise you? That Canadians appeared "more firmly anchored to administrative considerations" than concerned with practical matters or theoretical aims? That the Canadians "took refuge in" administration? The implication seems to be that Canadian educators are timid, that they lack initiative and imagination. Perhaps this image, this categorization of Canadians was justified, perhaps it was unfair; but in any event, it can hardly be said that Canadian education is without a confident, original voice. There is, after all, Marshall McLuhan. While he does not speak for all Canadians, nor for all Canadian educators, he *is* Canadian and, as Bill Gushue has pointed out, "his main area of concern is education."[43] It is he, remember, who has given the world such new and distinctive phrases as "education is civil defense against media fallout;"[44] and perhaps McLuhan's concept of "the global village" should deter us from even looking for unique characteristics within a nation like Canada.

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[40] Andrew F. Skinner, "Philosophy of Education in Canada: Some Impressions and Comparisons," *Canadian Education and Research Digest*, December 1963, pp.251-261.

[41] J.Stuart Maclure, *Curriculum Innovation in Practice: Canada, England and Wales, United States*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1968, pp.3-4

[42] *Ibid.*, p.10.

[43] W.J.Gushue, "Marshall McLuhan: Educational Implications," *McGill Journal of Education*, Vol.IV, No. 1 (Spring 1969), p. 4.

[44] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964, p.305.

However, if we review the material presented in this rather fragmented paper, we can see that there appears to be little that is really unique in Canadian education. Not the national structure, or lack of it; not the language problems; not the propensity to borrow, nor the anti-Americanism, nor the ambivalent superiority/inferiority feelings; not the habit of holding royal commissions nor the inadequacy of the schools in inculcating "desirable" national values; not even the student unrest. In conclusion, though, I should like to comment on three recurring ideas I encountered while preparing this paper:

1. Canadian society and Canadian education are often described as "mosaic," that is, composed of discrete pieces not fused into a single substance – as opposed to the U.S. "melting pot."
2. Canadians tend to think of themselves as different from Americans – as Mordecai Richler said in his piece in *The New Romans,* we are not quite sure what the Canadian identity is, but it is "something nice, very nice."[45]
3. It is generally agreed that Canadians are prudent, solid citizens, that Trudeaumania was a-typically Canadian in its emotionality, in its concern with style rather than substance.

The time has come to cast doubt on all these.

Canadian education *is* different from that in the U.S., but the mosaic image will not do. "Mosaic" is altogether too flat (whether horizontal or vertical), too static to apply to the cauldron that is Canada.

And Canadians and Canadian educators are not all blessedly above their neighbors. Canadians are not all nice – inefficiency, hypocrisy, and academic politics can be found here as elsewhere. This is a land of bitter ice, not sweet ice-cream.

As for the one about substance not style – it is indisputable that the Canadian people elected Pierre Elliot Trudeau Prime Minister and in the last five years there could scarcely have been more exciting domestic politics anywhere, from the Munsinger and Rivard affairs to "Quebec libre"! With the increasingly young population, it will be style that continues to count, the style of Trudeau, and Expo, and McLuhan – self-conscious perhaps, but steadily acquiring polish.

Canadian education is no longer only concerned with solid substance anchored to the past. It is in motion, sometimes lurching, sometimes tripping the light fantastic. Though the steps of this dance are known to others – the aims, structure, curricula, problems all exist elsewhere – yet there is something special in the arrangement here, a unique *pas de deux,* an original creation produced not from a static mosaic, but from the vital choreography of Canadian education. While there may be no unique characteristics in Canadian education, Canadian education is indeed unique.

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[45] *op. cit.*, p. 12.

REFERENCE TO DISCUSSION OF PAPERS

> Tribute is paid here to the Executive members who presided over the several sessions of the Conference and also to those who so acceptably acted as discussants. The discussants at successive sessions were Dr.R.Stamp, University of Calgary, Professor D.O'Driscoll, Queen's University and Dr.B.Y.Card, University of Alberta. Owing to limitations of space and since Dr.Card was asked not merely to refer to the final, integrative paper by Dr.Margaret Gillett but to comment upon the nature and purposes of all the seven Papers presented up to this point, excerpts are recorded here only from Dr. Card's extensive discussion. Admittedly these skeletal excerpts do less than justice to Dr. Card's statement but they may suffice to enable the reader to follow and appreciate the trend of its content. (A.F.S.)

The topic assigned Dr. Gillett was a difficult one. This is so partly because it requires selection of the 'unique' on a national scale, compared with the more limited geographical scales of preceding papers. However, the main source of Dr. Gillett's difficulty was the same as that of other speakers, namely, the problem of deciding what is unique. How was this problem resolved? Dr.Gillett's solution was to devise three criteria which amount to a rough scale of uniqueness. The criteria are: (1) that which is Canadian because it is found in Canada; (2) that which is distinctively Canadian in terms of quantity and breadth of distribution; (3) that which is uniquely Canadian because it is found only in Canada. From this point on in her paper, Dr. Gillett examines the Canadian scene to discover phenomena that can be evaluated for their uniqueness. ...The preceding six papers could be analysed according to these criteria, yielding a picture of what six Canadian educators perceive as regionally unique features of education from which a national synthesis of some kind could be derived. Since previous speakers did not have the same criteria explicitly in mind, I suspect the outcome of such an analysis would have limited value. The point to emphasize is that Dr. Gillett begins to use a procedure that could be developed and expanded if comparative educators wish to pursue their inquiry into the uniqueness of Canadian education. . . .

The classifying of Canadian education's unique characteristic by the three criteria mentioned early in the paper brought into clearer focus some interesting and unexpected phenomena, such as the National Film Board and Marshall McLuhan, but there is such a great range and variety in the characteristics Dr.Gillett selected that it is difficult to see patterns and relationships. . . .

Let us leave aside now the pattern used by Dr. Gillett in selecting unique features of Canadian education and examine briefly her approach to the features she has selected. I am impressed first by a kind of thesis-antithesis theme in her work. She adopts the thesis that some feature of Canadian education is unique. The anti-thesis comes from comparing what has been selected with what is found in American, Australian or European education. . . .A genuine synthesis or set of generalizations from this thesis-antithesis procedure does not emerge. One is left with a feeling of incompleteness which is perhaps one of the inevitable consequences of a short paper on a near-inexhaustible topic. . . .

In my imagination I see Dr.Gillett climbing many Canadian educational hills. . . . I'd like to suggest a few hills Dr.Gillett didn't climb. I would suggest Canada's family and youth allowances as an extension of the federal government into the fields of educational motivation and finance. Or, we might examine the roles and functions of certain officials in the Department of the Secretary of State at Ottawa, and ask if we are evolving a truncated, but unique functional equivalent of a national office of education. On a more ambitious scale we might consider Canadian patterns of borrowing educational traits and practices from other countries, especially the United States, and ask if there is something unique about the direction of this flow which is predominantly from south to north, or about differences in the extent of the flow to different parts of Canada. Would we find something unique here? . . .

In the latter part of her paper, it seems to me, Dr.Gillett almost ceased examining unique features of Canadian education in order to mention some of the unusual qualities of the Canadian social scene. This oscillation between education *per se* and education's social context is natural enough, but leads one away from what started out to be the educational focus of the paper. . . .

At this juncture may I express our indebtedness to Dr.Gillett and the other authors of papers for the insights into ourselves and our education they have provided. Also, I would like to commend Dr.Gillett in particular for the daring and courage it has taken for her, a relative newcomer to Canada, to undertake a paper on such an elusive phenomenon as the uniqueness of Canadian education. We have all gained from sharing her perceptions. . . . .

From now on I am commenting on the seven papers I have listened to and the discussion which followed them. . . . I have four points to make:

1. I see not only valuable contributions to knowledge about Canadian and comparative education, but also a process in which individual authors and members of this group generally, seem to be searching for a self and a collective identity. . . .
2. The comparative job has within it a division of labor which could be more explicitly recognized in my estimation. Historians have been predominantly represented in these sessions, supplemented by educational administrators. The kind of division of labor I see needed includes also efforts from anthropologists, sociologists, economists, political scientists and philosophers, particularly analytical philosophers.
3. There is a need for theoretical orientation with which to guide comparative inquiry and to help in deciding when to emphasize the general or universalistic and when the unique or particularistic. . . .
4. Finally may I suggest some 'theoretical' approaches I have found useful. As a general framework for comparative study I have found the following four headings useful for organizing my perceptions initially:
    a. The socio-cultural context of the phenomenon being examined;
    b. the personnel involved – their numbers, distribution, backgrounds and characteristics;
    c. the ideologies involved – that is the aggregate of concepts, beliefs, ideas, modes of thinking associated with the phenomenon in question;
    d. the patterns of social interaction involved, that is, interaction involving leaders and members of groups, as well as the overt and covert, or manifest and latent forms of interaction. . . .

In cross-cultural work I have a great deal of respect for diffusion and invention theory. . . .Closely related to the processes of invention and diffusion are the kinds of social interaction which are not yet institutionalized but which are basic to an understanding of what is really going on in any country's education. These pre- (or non-) institutionalized forms of behaviour need to be brought into focus in comparative studies. For this purpose we look to theories of collective behaviour – of panics, crazes, fashions, hostile outburst, and various kinds of social movements – for help in describing and analysing the more dynamic aspects of a country's education. . . . With the inclusion of collective-behaviour theory I am of the opinion that Canadian comparative studies will substantially increase their potential for predicting educational and social change while at the same time increasing the accuracy and vividness of their description and the depth of their analytical insights.

RESEARCH IN COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

1

FOREIGN COMMENT ON CANADIAN EDUCATION, 1750-1900

By Roger Magnuson
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Educational traffic in the western world in the 18th and 19th centuries was largely eastbound. Americans and Canadians, as students and scholars, traveled to Europe to attend its celebrated universities and to share in the rich cultural life of the Old World. Interestingly, the educational *Drang nach Osten* also was a phenomenon within Europe itself, for Englishmen and Frenchmen recognized in the German states, and particularly in Prussia, the most advanced educational system of the day. Consequently, it is not surprising that much of the literature of comparative and international education of the 19th century focuses on Continental education, e.g., the reports of Matthew Arnold, Victor Cousin, Horace Mann. However, as Fraser and Brickman have shown in a recent work,[1] not a few Europeans and Japanese journeyed to the United States during the period for the purpose of learning more about its educational ideas and practices. And by the same token, an examination of Canadian source materials reveals that a sizeable number of Americans and Europeans visited Canada to study its way of life.

Foreign comment on Canadian education between the years 1750 and 1900 is largely confined to two categories of persons: private visitors or travelers who sought to satisfy their own curiosity of the New World, and official representatives who were assigned by their governments to inquire into and report on some aspect of Canadian life.

Private Travelers

In sheer quantity the written records of private visitors constitute the richest repository of foreign comment on early Canadian education. On the other hand, they also represent the least reliable source of the true state of education of the day. This is because visitors to early Canada, more often than not, were not interested in educataion *per se,* nor were they trained to study another culture in a disinterested fashion, nor did they generally stay long enough to acquire a full understanding of the culture at work. Notwithstanding all this, we should resist any tendency to reject outright the quality of their observations. When pieced together these observations produce a more or less cohesive, if general, view of the state of learning and culture in early Canada.

One of the most valuable records of the social fabric of New France is that left by Peter Kalm, a Finnish naturalist who traveled widely in North America during the years 1747-51. A friend and contemporary of the great Swedish Botanist Linnaeus, Kalm came to North America to study its plant life. Like the renowned Alexis de Tocqueville of a century later, his interests went beyond his own field of specialty. His reflections on the cultural differences between New France and the British colonies of America depart radically from the traditionally held view of learning in mid-18th century North America. Of particular importance is her assertion that science, as well as learning in general, enjoyed greater attention and prestige in New France than in New England. The traditional view has it that learning was less widespread in New France than in the south, and that it was almost exclusively fitted to religious ends. But as Kalm says of New France:

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[1] Stewart E. Fraser and William W. Brickman, *A History of International and Comparative Education: Nineteenth Century Documents.* Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1968.

> I found that the people of distinction had here in general a much greater taste for natural history and other learning than in the English colonies, where it was everybody's sole care and employment to scrape a fortune together, and where the sciences were held in universal contempt.[2]

Yet on closer examination of the circumstances surrounding Kalm's trip to New France, there is good reason to question the accuracy of his remarks. The fact is that Kalm was no ordinary visitor to the French colony. He was accorded VIP treatment and all his expenses were borne by Paris, since at the time Sweden and France were close allies. Lionel Groulx, French Canada's nationalist historian, suggests that the expense-free trip given Kalm probably prejudiced his analysis of the situation.

> Ne prenons pas à la lettre, si l'on veut, l'affirmation flatteuse de Pierre Kalm qui disait avoir trouvé au Canada 'plus de gôut pour l'Histoire naturelle et les lettres que dans les colonies anglaises'.[3]

Groulx's downgrading of Kalm's assessment is strengthened by the remarks of the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, a liberal French peer and philanthropist who toured the United States and British North America between 1795 and 1797. Rochefoucauld found no evidence of any interest toward science in the colony.

> No literary society exists in Canada, and not three men are known in the whole country to be engaged in scientific pursuits from love of the sciences. Excepting the Quebec almanack, not a single book is printed in Canada.[4]

Most of the travelers to Canada between 1750 and 1850 agree on these points: the widespread lack of education among the general population and the tendency of women to have more education than men. Isaac Weld, an English topographical writer who traveled throughout North America in the 1790's, noted that among the "lower classes of the French Canadians. . .few of the men can read or write; the little learning there is amongst the inhabitants is confined to the women."[5] Similarly, the Duke de la Rouchefoucauld, on touring Lower Canada, was surprised to find that women, contrary to the custom elsewhere, were better educated than men.

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[2] Quoted in W.J.Eccles, *Canadian Society during the French Regime.* Montreal: Harvest House, 1968, p. 54.

[3] Lionel Groulx, *Histoire du Canada français.* I, Montréal: Fides, 1960, p. 273.

[4] Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America, etc.* (translated by H. Neuman), London: R.Phillips, 1799, p. 320.

[5] Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the States of North America and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797.* London: John Stockdale, 1800, p.339.

> Upon the whole the work of education in Lower Canada is greatly neglected. At Sorrel [*sic*] and Trois Rivières are a few schools kept by nuns, and in other places men or women instruct children. But the number of schools is, upon the whole, so very small, and the mode of instruction so defective, that a Canadian who can read is a sort of phenomenon. From the major part of these schools being governed by nuns and other women, the number of the latter, who can read, is contrary to the custom of other countries, much greater in Canada than that of men.[6]

A Scotsman, John Duncan, who visited Montreal in 1819, found the educational situation unchanged from that of the 1790's, declaring that "Among the great majority of the Canadians, not but a few of the females are able to read."[7] He also lamented the almost total absence of educational facilities for French Canadians. (It is not known whether he was aware that the French Canadian population had rejected the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, as being an instrument of anglicization). In any case, Duncan was perfectly correct in declaring:

> It is to be regretted that so little has hitherto been attempted for the instruction of French Canadians. Excepting the 'Seminaries' of Montreal and Quebec, I am not aware of the existence of any school, where their boys can acquire even the most ordinary elements of education.[8]

Nor was the state of learning any different in Upper Canada. According to the record left by Edward Talbot, an English writer who came to the upper province in 1818 and stayed for five years, the colony was wallowing in ignorance:

> I can positively assert that during a residence of five years in the Province, I have only seen two persons with books in their hands, and one of those was consulting a medical publication for the cure of a disease under which he laboured.[9]

Official Reports

Official reports represent another documentary source of foreign comment on Canadian education in the 19th century. Though few in number they are by their own character a more authoritative historical record than that left by private travelers. At the head of the list of formal reports stands Lord Durham's *Report,* not only the premier political document of British North America, but a significant pre-Confederation treatise on education as well. The body of the *Report* contains numerous references to education and Appendix D, written by Arthur Buller, is devoted to a detailed examination of education in Lower Canada.

Both Durham and Buller are unsparing in their criticism of the state of education in Upper and Lower Canada, though their heaviest salvos are reserved for Lower Canada because it was the only political entity in North America in the 1830's without the framework of a public system of education. Durham perhaps was one of the first to recognize that the upper province was in advance of the lower province in terms of public provision for education, a state of affairs that prevailed almost to the present. The educational gap between Upper and Lower Canada also was noted in the 1850's by Hugh Tremenheere, an English school inspector who spent fourteen months visiting American and Canadian schools. He found that education in Lower Canada was "still very low, as compared with other countries, and with the Upper Province."[10]

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[6] Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *op cit.*, p. 318.

[7] John M.Duncan, *Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada, in 1818 and 1819.* vol. 2, Glasgow: University 1823, p. 172.

[8] *Ibid.*, p.221.

[9] Quoted in *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada 1790-1830.* Vol.I, (ed. by J.George Hodgins), Toronto, 1894, p. 195.

In speaking of the French-Canadian population of Lower Canada, Durham declares that "It is impossible to exaggerate the want of education among the habitans [*sic*] . . . they are almost universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing."[11]

To that end he charges the British Government with failing to have "done, or even attempted nothing for the promotion of general education."[12] Durham was correct in saying that the government had failed to make education a reality for all, but he was wrong in suggesting that no efforts had been made in this direction.

Like his contemporary in the United States, Horace Mann, Durham saw an inextricable link between good government and education. In examining the political ills of Lower Canada, he concludes that "The entire neglect of education by the Government has thus, more than any other cause, contributed to render this people ungovernable."[13]

Durham's proposed solution for the improvement of education in Lower Canada, while consistent with his political policy of making the province a truly English one, can only be regarded as unimaginative and unenlightened. His call for the anglicization of education in Lower Canada merely repeats the mistakes of the past. Indeed, the reason that education had so badly lagged in the lower province since the Conquest was that it had been guided by a policy that had failed to respect the language and religion of the French-Canadian majority. In this respect, Gerald Craig criticizes Durham for failing "to see that Canadian development would have to be in the other direction: toward mutual respect and tolerance, towards the building of a nation based on a dual culture."[14]

As for Buller's report on education in Lower Canada, it essentially pursues the same line of argument as that put forward by Durham. However, as a detailed description of the state of learning in the province at the time, it helps to clarify the educational situation. Like others who had studied education in Lower Canada before him, Buller was surprised to discover that women were better educated than men. "They", he wrote, are the "active bustling, business portion of the 'habitans'," a circumstance which he ascribed to the "much better education which they get, gratuitously, or at a very cheap rate, at the nunneries which are dispersed over the province."[15]

Another official English report on 19th century Canadian education is James Fraser's *Report of the Common School System of the United States and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.* Fraser, the Bishop of Manchester, was sent by his government to study American and Canadian education in 1865. As England was contemplating the establishment of public elementary schools, Fraser's visit was devoted to an examination of public school facilities in the two countries. Because he visited Canadian schools immediately after having toured American schools, his report on Canadian education is expressed in comparative terms. On the whole, Canadian schools come off second best in the report.

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[10] Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, *Notes on Public Subjects Made During a Tour in the United States and in Canada.* London: John Murray, 1852, p. 195.

[11] C.P.Lucas (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America.* Vol.II, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912, p. 31.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[13] Gerald M.Craig (ed.), *Lord Durham's Report,* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963, p.30.

[14] *Ibid.*, x.

[15] C.P.Lucas, *op. cit.*, Vol.III, p. 267.

First, Fraser found Canadian education more adaptive than original:

> The Canadian System of Education, in those main features of it which are common to both Provinces, makes no pretence of being original. It confesses to a borrowed and eclectic character. The neighbouring States of New York and Massachusetts, the Irish, English and Prussian systems, have all contributed elements, . . .[16]

Fraser was correct as to the "second hand" character of much of Canadian education.[17] One need only inquire into the historical development of Ontario education to confirm the view. The great Ryerson, for example, incorporated numerous foreign educational practices into his plan for a modern school system for Upper Canada, after having visited schools in the United States and Europe in the 1840's. He confessed to adopting the school machinery of the State of New York, school taxation procedures of Massachusetts, Prussian classroom methods and teacher training organization, and Ireland's scheme for preparing and distributing textbooks.[18]

In his comparison of the internal character of American and Canadian schools, Fraser contrasts the liveliness and daring of the former with the circumspection and quiet efficiency of the latter:

> Entering a Canadian school, with American impressions fresh upon the mind the first feeling is one of disappointment. One misses the life, the motion, the vivacity, the precision – in a word, the brilliancy. But as you stay, and pass both Teacher and Pupils in review, the feeling of disappointment gives way to a feeling of surprise. You find that this plain, unpretending teacher has the power of communicating real, solid knowledge and good sense to those youthful minds, which, if they do not move rapidly, at least grasp, when they do take hold, firmly.[19]

Continuing his comparison he notes that

> Each system – or rather, I should say, the result of each system – seems to harmonize best with the character of the respective peoples. The Canadian chooses his type of School as the Vicar of Wakefield's wife chose her wedding gown; and as the Vicar of Wakefield chose his wife, 'not for a fine, glossy surface, but for such qualities as will wear well.' "[20]

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[16] Quoted in *Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario 1792-1853.* Vol.III, (ed. by J.George Hodgins), Toronto: L.K.Cameron, 1911, p.2.

[17] See the excellent M.A. thesis, George Tomkins, "Some Aspects of American Influence on Canadian Educational Thought and Practice." McGill University, 1952.

[18] Nathanael Burwash, *Egerton Ryerson,* Toronto: George N.Morang, 1913, p. 168.

[19] *Historical Educational Papers. . .,* p. 3.

[20] *Ibid.*

International Expositions

While the world's fair nominally was a showplace for nations' industrial and technical achievements during the second half of the 19th century – the first being the London Exhibition of 1851 – it also featured exhibits on the methods and hardware of education, thus giving us some insight into the material state of education around the world during the period. Unlike the "Expo" of today, that of a century ago was a highly competitive institution, in which countries vied intensely for prizes, not to mention national glory, before international juries. Normally each participating nation left a written record of its contributions and impressions of the exhibitions in which it took part. From an examination of these neglected sources in the literature of comparative and international education, emerges a refreshingly new slant on 19th century education in Europe and America, and particularly in Canada.

Prior to the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876 Canada did not fully sponsor an education exhibit at an international exposition, save for sending some school reports and periodicals. At the Paris Exposition of 1867, 428 education prizes were awarded, of which Canada captured three.[21] At the Philadelphia fair, not only did she (in effect, Ontario) mount a large education display, but one which attracted the attention and admiration of foreign observers, even though its sponsors admitted that it was an exhibit of "appliances and instruments, rather than of accomplished results," and that some of the "articles and supplies" exhibited were rarely used in the schools.[22] To that end, Monsieur Buisson, representing France's Minister of Public Instruction, probably exaggerated in establishing a direct link between the Ontario exhibit and the operation of its schools:

> To make a brilliant educational exhibition by the side of that of the United States was not any easy thing to do, and for Canada to have succeeded in doing it goes to prove that her schools are in a very prosperous condition. That such is their condition, in fact, seems clear from all kinds of documents and photographic specimens, and specimens of maps in relief, which were brought together at the Exposition.[23]

The absence of Quebec at the Exhibition, understandably, disappointed the French representative, who felt it put Quebec education in a bad light:

> At one thing we must nevertheless, express our extreme regret:
> it is that Lower Canada, the Province of Quebec – that is to say, all French Canada – failed to take little, if any, part in the educational exhibition. This regret is deepened by the fact that the occasion was a fine one in which to contrast French methods with those of England and the United States. . . It is greatly to be regretted that this pleasure has been denied us, and we may be permitted to say without prejudgement that this neglect to take part in so important an occasion is not exactly a good sign.[24]

[21] *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Exposition of 1867.* Vol VI, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868, page unknown.

[22] *Special Report to the Honourable the Minister of Education, on the Ontario Educational Exhibit, and the Education Features of the International Exhibition, at Philadelphia, 1876.* Toronto, 1877, p. 15.

[23] *Ibid.*, p.25.

[24] *Ibid.*, p.26.

Whereas Buisson also suggested that Ontario education largely was derived from an American model, American educators, on the other hand, saw in the Ontario display evidence of an original and technically more advanced system than their own.[25] Ellis Apgar, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of New Jersey, put Ontario's display on a level with that of Russia, which is revealing when it is realized that the latter stole the show with its exhibit on manual training education as in operation at the Moscow Imperial Technical School.[26] To Apgar, the "best displays of apparatus. . .were made by Ontario and Russia."[27]

Likewise, John Wesley Hoyt, United States national commissioner to the Exhibition and a comparative educator in his own right,[28] spoke highly of Ontario education through its exhibit:

> Although but one or two provinces of the Canadian Dominion were represented, the exhibition by one of these was so large and admirable that we have reserved it to the last, as crowning all the representations connected with the British name. It was the Province of Ontario, for many years so well known to the educational world on account of the great intelligence and zeal with which it has labored to form and perfect a school system. . .it was this most enterprising and progressive Province that received tributes of praise from representatives of all nations and won new honors for the Canadian name.[29]

The Province of Quebec got into the act for the first time at the Chicago Exposition of 1893. Reflecting the dual denominational arrangement of its schools, Roman Catholic and Protestant authorities presented separate exhibits. Unfortunately, little is known of the quality of their displays, though the records do show that the Protestant exhibit arrived late and those responsible for this state of affairs were strongly criticized. On a happier note, Ontario once again distinguished herself in the education category. John Eaton, commissioner of the then U.S.Bureau of Education, said at the Exposition that Ontario's display proved to the world that she was a leader in "educational fixtures." Further, he remarked that "When I was first appointed to my present position, I went to Toronto to study Ontario's methods, and I there found the best educational museum in America, and the best appliances."[30]

[25] *Ibid.*, The direction of educational ideas in North America is not always from south to north. Charles Phillips notes that the popular Oswego Pestalozzian movement of the 19th century was triggered by a visit to Toronto in 1859 of Edward Sheldon, who first saw the "object lesson" in action at the Toronto Normal School. See Charles Edward Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada.* Toronto: Gage, 1957, p. 354.

[26] Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf,1964,p.24.

[27] *Special Report to the Honourable. . .*, pp. 27,28.

[28] A former president of the University of Wyoming, Hoyt represented the United States at several major international expositions. In his report of the Paris Exposition of 1867, he devoted 398 pages to education around the world. See *Reports of the United States Commissioners to the Paris Exposition 1867.* Vol.VI, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968.

[29] *International Exhibition 1876.* Vol.III, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880, p. 138.

[30] *Report of the Executive Commission for Canada to the World's Columbian Exposition,* Chicago, 1893. Ottawa: Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1894. p. 42.

2

LA RAISON D'ETRE DE LA SCECI

By Avigdor Farine
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Le but de cette communication est de revoir brièvement le développement de la pédagogie comparée durant les dernières décennies comme l'antécédent de la fondation de la SCECI, afin d'arriver à quelques conclusions et suggestions. Les points suivants seront traités:

1. Chercheurs et sociétés d'éducation comparée
2. De la documentation pédagogique à l'analyse de systèmes en éducation
3. L'apport de l'éducation internationale
4. Questions de méthodologie
5. Où en est l'éducation comparée?
6. La raison d'être de la SCECI.

Chercheurs et sociétés d'éducation comparée – Ce n'est que depuis la deuxième guerre mondiale (période d'expansion des réseaux d'enseignement des différents pays), qu'on a surtout pris conscience du besoin de comparer ce qui se fait en éducation chez les autres pour faire mieux chez soi. La création de l'UNESCO en 1946, aida à la coopération culturelle et accéléra la compilation des données des systèmes d'éducation commencée en 1925 par le Bureau International d'Education (BIE) à Genève.

Des chercheurs philosophes établissent les caractéristiques des systèmes d'éducation et cherchent les causes et les différences dans les systèmes. Kandel (1933) prend en considération les facteurs politiques et économiques qui sont à la base de l'éducation; Schneider (1947) considère l'éducation comme le résultat des forces écologiques motrices; Hans (1949) parle des facteurs d'influence que l'éducation confronte. Un grand nombre de chercheurs sont des humanistes à tendance historique, tels que Moehlman et Roucek (1951) et Ulich (1961). De leur côté, Mallinson (1957) insiste sur le caractère national d'un peuple comme variable explicative du système d'éducation de ce peuple, tandis que Rossello (1959) fait l'équivalence entre le chercheur en éducation comparée et un météorologue. Comme la météorologie permet de prévoir le temps en se basant sur les données atmosphériques, la pédagogie comparée permet des analyses des systèmes d' éducation par une méthode dynamique de comparaison des courants éducatifs.

D'autres suivent leur voie. La liste serait longue si on continue à les énumérer. . . . Un examen rapide de la biographie des auteurs en éducation comparée démontre qu'un grand nombre de chercheurs viennent des sciences sociales ou qu'ils ont une expérience d'outre-mer. Se trouvant dans un autre pays ils comparèrent, se trouvèrent impliqués et commencèrent à enseigner la nouvelle discipline. On peut dire que dans leur majorité ces chercheurs sont des "amélioristes" qui essaient de faire des analyses comparatives pour encourager la réforme scolaire. Par la suite la base sociale de l'école fut clairement reconnue et on discerne les emprunts faits aux sciences sociales dans la manipulation des données. La recherche des causes et effets dans l'analyse de systèmes devient une approche-clé.

Cette recherche est encouragée par l'établissement des sociétés d'éducation comparée. La société américaine fut fondée en 1956 pour "faire évoluer le savoir et l'enseignement dans ce domaine". Elle fut suivie en 1961 par la fondation de la "Société européenne de pédagogie comparée". Des sociétés régionales ont vu le jour en Angleterre, au Japon et en Corée. La SCECI fut créée en 1967 et se joignit aux autres sociétés de pédagogie comparée dans le but de former une union internationale de toutes les sociétés. D'un autre côté, des bureaux de renseignements pédagogiques nationaux aux Etats-Unis et en Europe encouragent la notion de documentation et de recherche. L'O.C.D.E. par exemple, contribue à la recherche dans les pays membres. Les congrès pédagogiques internationaux et les conférences de spécialistes permettent un échange d'idées et facilitent la communication parmi les intéressés. De la documentation pédagogique à l'analyse des systèmes en éducation – La notion de documentation fut encouragée par les différents dépôts pédagogiques et les centres d'information sur l'éducation. Ces centres représentent aussi les premiers abords de la pédagogie comparée, c'est à dire, que pour pouvoir comparer il faut commencer par accumuler les données. En se basant sur les sciences sociales (nous reviendrons sur les problèmes de méthodologie), les publications comparatives récentes se sont éloignées des explications à tendance historique et philosophique des "pères de la pédagogie comparée". Les coûts de l'enseignement, les besoins de main d'oeuvre, le développement des ressources humaines et les autres aspects de la contribution du système d'éducation au développement économique et culturel d'un peuple sont devenus des thèmes de discussion. Le projet régional méditerranéen et les rapports sur les différents pays (O.C.D.E. 1965, 1966) en sont un bon exemple. De leur côté Harbison et Myers (1964) parlent "d'indicateurs quantitatifs du développement des ressources humaines", tandis que Banks et Textor (1963) et Russet *et al.* (1964) prennent en considération des variables socio-politiques dans des analyses sous forme quantitative. Dernièrement Coombs (1968) traite par analyse de systèmes la crise mondiale en éducation.

La nécessité de traiter de façon quantitative les différents facteurs de l'enseignement est discutée dans la littérature. Même s'il est diffile de quantifier certains aspects de l'action éducative telle que la "qualité" de l'enseignement ou la quantité du savoir acquis par les étudiants, des techniques statistiques à l'aide de l'ordinateur donnent l'espoir de surmonter les difficultés de quantification. Des chercheurs construisent des échelles de critères qui doivent guider la recherche. Actuellement ce sont surtout des économistes et des scientistes tournés vers l'enseignement qui se dévouent à ce genre de recherche.

L'apport de l'éducation internationale – L'intérêt des puissances pour les pays en voie de développement et l'aide technique à ces états encouragèrent la pédagogie internationale. Des fonds provenant de différents instituts (La Banque Internationale, le USAID, la Fondation Ford, etc. . .) suppléent les besoins financiers de la recherche dans ces nouveaux états. Cet aspect de l'éducation qui doit aider, en principe, à la compréhension internationale devint partie de la pédagogie comparée. Les sujets sont différents et traitent des questions portant sur la main d'oeuvre, les structures scolaires, la politisation de l'enseignement et des problèmes locaux. Ile en ressort que le domaine de la comparaison est agrandie dans la mesure où très souvent on attribue à la pédagogie comparée ce que l'on ne sait mettre ailleurs.

Questions de méthodologie – La discussion sur la méthode en pédagogie comparée n'est pas encore terminée. Comment faut-il aborder les problèmes? Serait-on encore resté aux aspects descriptifs-analytiques fondés sur l'histoire? Kandel signalait que la méthode est déterminée par les objectifs qu'on se donne. Hans et Ulich, se basant sur l'histoire plutôt que sur les hypothèses pouvant être discutées suivant la méthode des sciences sociales, arrivèrent à des jugements de valeurs et des énoncés philosophiques. Rossello chercha des moyens statistiques et parle de comparaison dynamique par juxtaposition des données. Foster (1960) attire l'attention des chercheurs en éducation comparée sur les aspects spécifiques des systèmes d'éducation dans les pays en voie de développement. Holmes (1965) suggère de voir les objectifs comme problèmes *(problem approach)* à discuter sur des déterminants socio-politiques dans un concept de "dualisme critique". Bereday (1964,1967) insiste sur le statut interdisciplinaire de la pédagogie comparée et propose quatre phases (description, interprètation, juxtaposition et comparaison simultanée) dans la méthode comparée. Différents opinions se font entendre sur les questions de méthodologie, mais c'est surtout Noah (1969) qui rejette les méthodes existantes qu'il appelles "manque de méthodologie" et postule pour l'application réelle des techniques des sciences sociales dans la recherche en éducation comparée. Il paraît que sur les questions d'identité et de méthodologie, la pédagogie est à la croisée des chemins. Où en est-on? Nous nous le demandons aussi.

Où en est la pédagogie comparée – Il n'existe pas d'institution qui ne se pose pas la question de savoir où il en est après une certaine période d'activité. Sinon c'est la routine des conférences et des communications, en d'autres termes, accumuler encore des données. On devrait se poser les questions suivantes: fait-on de la recherche qui met en évidence des nouveaux aspects de la pédagogie comparée? S'améliore-t-on vraiment? N'est-on pas déçu de l'activité en pédagogie internationale par rapport aux évènements politiques dans le tiers monde? Il n'en faut pas beaucoup pour qu'une liaison culturelle soit interrompue de part et d'autre (du pays donneur au pays aidé) pour des raisons politiques. Il y a aussi le problème de méthodologie – il faut perfectionner les techniques de comparaison pour que la discipline soit moins un domaine de prédilections personnelles. Dans cet esprit la *Comparative Education Review* change d'allure et le *Comparative Education* édité par Halls, a envoyé un questionnaire à ses lecteurs leur demandant quel genre d'articles ils aimeraient voir publier dans le périodique. Les sociétés d'éducation comparée feraient bien de se demander dans quelle mesure elles atteignent leurs objectifs.

La raison d'être de la SCECI – La SCECI fut créée en 1967. Après l'enthousiasme de la fondation, la question d'orientation se pose. En fait, on se l'est demandé durant la conférence de juin 1968. Des participants proposèrent que la SCECI devienne un organisme prospectif et contribue à l'éducation du Canada de demain. Il y a assez à faire pour mieux connaître les dix provinces et pour avoir plus d'échange pédagogique. Le thème de la conférence actuelle suit cette optique qu'il faudrait continuer. Dans ce but de prospectivité et d'avant-gardisme un autre participant de l'année passée a proposé que la SCECI encourage la recherche dans des domaines délaissés pour différentes raisons par la société américaine d'éducation comparée tel que l'éducation à Cuba. A cet égard, on se trouve mieux placé que les Etats-Unis. Les Antilles peuvent être un domaine d'intérêt du fait que le Canada veut s'ouvrir davantage à ces nouveaux états. Il faut encourager la recherche qui pourrait contribuer à un Canada meilleur ainsi qu'à une meilleure compréhension des systèmes d'éducation à l'étranger dans des domaines délaissés et qui créent un intérêt pour ce pays. De cette façon il serait plus facile de recevoir des fonds.

Si la SCECI ne poursuit pas une activité spécifique qui lui est propre, on peut se demander sa raison d'être, car les distances physiques et culturelles d'éducation comparée américaine ne sont pas grandes. L'idée d'avoir une société à soi ne satisfait pas si cette société ne répond pas à l'attente de ses membres ni du public en général.

3

EDUCATIONAL AID: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY AND A PLEA FOR NEW LINES OF ENQUIRY*

By Mathew Zachariah
University of Calgary.

"New Aid Focus: Farm and School" was the title of a recent news story in the *New York Times.*[1] The story reported that under new priorities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, lending for education in developing nations was expected to rise substantially. It is well known that both bilateral and multilateral aid for educational development from economically rich to economically poor countries[2] has been increasing in the past decade. Indications similar to the news story point to an even higher rise of educational aid in the future while aid in many other categories may decline.

The literature on educational assistance has also been increasing.[3] This literature deals with all kinds of educational assistance which may be classified into three principal groups. First, many developed nations and multilateral agencies such as UNESCO provide aid to developing countries for making educational plans. This consists predominantly of providing experts to the developing country on either a short-term or a long-term basis. Second, many new nations need teachers who can help build up certain institutions or subject areas at the secondary and tertiary levels of education. France, the United States, Britain, Canada, and others have supplied such teachers usually for specified periods. Third, western nations make it possible for students from developing nations to acquire further education in western secondary and higher educational institutions (mostly the latter).

The questions that require clarification and possible answers on all these forms of educational aid are many.[4] It might be useful to list a few of these questions that interested scholars and officials have explored.

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* The Phi Delta Kappa Commission on International Relations has financially supported the major part of the research on which this article is based.

[1] "New Aid Focus: Farm and School," *New York Times,* Section 3, Sunday, March 20,1969, pp. 1 and 14.

[2] In this paper, in order to minimize repetition, the following words or phrases will be used as synonyms for western nations which provide aid for education: economically rich nations, rich nations, developed nations, donor nations, etc. Similarly, nations receiving educational aid will also be identified sometimes as underdeveloped countries or nations, developing nations, new states, emerging nations, etc. Obviously, each of these terms carries different connotations, some of which I do not accept. However, for purposes of this paper, these connotations are ignored.

[3] Copies of a 19-page mimeographed bibliography on educational assistance prepared by the writer is available on request. See also *Review of Educational Research: International Development Education,* Vol.XXXVII, No. 3 (June, 1968).

Questions on the Current State of Educational Aid

What are the relative roles national governments, private national organizations, public international organizations, and private international organizations play in providing educational assistance? In the receiving countries, what are the proportions of aid which public agencies and private groups receive? What are the general declared objectives of giving and receiving educational assistance? What are the ways in which educational aid to a country may be classified: by levels of education? by institutions? by programs or projects? or combinations of these? What kinds of breakdowns of the goods and services a country receives in the form of loans and grants are most useful for the further planning and programming of educational development?

Questions on the Effectiveness of Educational Aid

How can the short-term or long-term effectiveness of educational aid be measured? In what sectors of the educational system can external aid produce the greatest "multiplier effect? " How can aid contribute to educational innovation in the recipient countries? How can educational assistance be integrated with the educational plans as well as the social and economic plans of the recipient countries? What are the advantages and disadvantages of "tied aid," projectization (e.g. for building specific sectors on institutions) of aid, etc.? What are the implications of federal/state/local relationships in the recipient country for educational aid programs? How can the problems arising from conflicting advice from different developed nations be resolved in the best interests of developing nations? Since recipient countries are in different stages of development, how can educational aid be differentiated to maximize its value for each of them?

Fundamental Research Questions

How is aid to be defined? What is the most useful approach in calculating the real costs of financial and other outlays to the donor and recipient countries? What are the real benefits that accrue from educational aid to the recipients as well as the donors?

A good deal has been written on all of these and many other related questions. Much of it is plainly hortatory. Relatively sophisticated research on the subject has only begun to appear in the last few years, thanks to the work of institutions such as the International Institute for Educational Planning in Paris. A great deal more research needs to be done on questions of this order to produce better answers than are now available. This paper, it is hoped, will stimulate interest in some specific questions which have not received any systematic attention in the western world.

Specifically, I wish to discuss the problems and issues related to educational assistance provided by experts and advisers (sometimes teachers) from developed nations.

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[4] For an introduction to the field, read I.M.D.Little and J.M.Clifford, *International Aid* (Chicago: Aldine, 1966); Ladislav Cerych, *Problems of Aid to Education in Developing Countries* (New York: Praeger, 1965).

The literature on this subject deals mostly with the following:[5] (1) the crucial importance of the role of the expert; (2) characteristics of the "ideal" expert; (3) problems of attracting good personnel for overseas service; (4) relationship of the success of the expert in the "field" to orientation, prior preparation, length of service, etc.; (5) advisory *vs.* operational roles of the experts and specific approaches such as joint planning, liaison approach, and counterpart relationship; (6) linguistic and other cultural barriers which result in ignorance, misunderstandings, etc.; (7) the implications of political involvement by experts; and (8) the mutual personal and national enrichment that results from international collaboration.

A careful perusal of this literature reveals several features but mainly that it is written almost exclusively from the cultural and political point of view of the aid-giving countries.[6] To be sure, there are occasional statements that a foreign technician transmits his skills from his own cultural perspective and acknowledgements of the need to be aware of the recipient country's culture and politics.[7] Beyond these, one does not find any *systematic* attempts to take account of the recipient people's sensibilities in aid programs. This lack stands in contrast to the availability of studies, for example, on recipient country officials and scholars who come to study in the developed country.[8]

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[5] The items in this note relate correspondingly to the points made in the text. These citations are only illustrative. (1) Kent Pillsbury, *UNESCO Education in Action* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1963), p.51; John D. Montgomery, "Political Dimensions of Foreign Aid," *Traditions, Values, and Socio-economic Development*, Ralph Braibanti and Joseph Spengler, editors (Durham, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), p.261; (2) George F. Grant, "The Institution Building Project" (A Ford Foundation reprint from *International Review of Administrative Science*, Vol.XXXII, No.3,1966), p.5; R.Freeman Butts, *American Education in International Development* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p.34; (3) I.M.D. Little and J.M. Clifford, *op.cit.*, pp. 174-176; Joseph La Palambara, "American Higher Education and Political Development," *Post-Primary Education, and Political and Economic Development*, Don C. Piper and Taylor C.Cole, editors (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1964), pp.105-113; (4) Ladislav Cerych, *op.cit.*, pp.123 and 151; Ronald C. Nairn, *International Aid to Thailand: The New Colonialism?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 19; (5) John P. Powelson, "Educational Assistance, Economic Development, and United States Foreign Policy," Piper and Cole, *op.cit.*, pp.138-139; Montgomery, *op.cit.*, pp. 262-263; (6) John Vaizey, "Some of the Main Issues in the Strategy of Educational Supply," *The Challenge of Aid to Newly Developing Countries* (Washington, D.C.: O.E.C.D.Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education, 1961), p.68; Don Adams, "The Monkey and the Fish," *Dynamics of Development*, Grove Hambidge, editor (New York: Praeger, 1964), pp.361-368; (7) Howard Wriggins, "Foreign Assistance and Political Development," *Development of the Emerging Countries: An Agenda for Research* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1962), pp. 209-210; Joseph La Palambara, *op.cit.*, pp. 95-127; (8) Philip H.Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis* (New York: Oxford, 1968), p. 148, Ford Foundations Committee on education and world affairs, *The University and World Affairs* (New York, 1961), pp. 42-44.

[6] There are some exceptions, of course. One is Edward T.Hall, "What Underdeveloped Countries Do Not Want," Grove Hambidge, *op.cit.*, pp.369-372. See also some of the comments in Overseas Development Institute, *Aid to Education: An Anglo-American Appraisal* (London, 1965).

[7] See, for example, James J. Shields, Jr., "Technical Aid in Education and International Understanding," *Year Book of Education 1964: Education and International Life* (New York: Harper, 1964), pp. 349-353. Edward T. Hall's essay cited in Note 6 is one of the few exceptions to this.

How may we account for this almost complete lack in the articulation of the point of view of people in the developing countries? The following are some of the elements which must contribute to an answer to that question: the difficulty recipient governments feel in openly voicing criticisms of what is, after all, aid; the relative unfamiliarity of most experts or advisers with the cultures of developing countries which prevents them from making subtle but essential distinctions about the actions of people in the non-western world, and dubious assumptions which serve to misinterpret the history of industrialism in the West and which, in addition, create inane views about how new nations ought to develop.[9]

I became aware of the absence of the point of view of the developing countries in the literature available for western scholars for the first time as a result of discussions I had with Indian educators in the southern, northern, and western parts of India. Subsequent readings and discussions confirmed this lack as well as impressed me with the necessity of taking into account the views of the government *and* the people in recipient countries.

Why is it important to take much greater account of the views of the people in developing nations?

Education in developing countries – as in all countries – is an interrelated part of the existing culture of those countries. This is true even in cases where the form and content of the educational system had been borrowed from a western nation. The long existence of the foreign system in the native culture has changed the system in subtle but important ways. To recognize this is not to approve the system as it exists. The intervention of foreign advisers and experts from powerful nations is, in the last analysis, cultural confrontation. There is nothing intrinsically good or bad about cultural confrontation. But careless or arrogant promotion of *cultural subversion* by persons who do not have a genuine stake in the native system – which is the case of most transient experts and advisers – can have deleterious consequeneces similar to some of the results that the introduction of western education in countries like India produced. (For example, western education further separated the Indian élite from the masses of Indian people – although it also had desirable consequences.) This observation takes on added significance in light of the fact that 60 to 70 per cent of all educational assistance expenditures goes for "personnel – mostly teachers, educational experts, and advisers sent to assist developing countries."[10] Obviously, "it is the capacity to attain effective relationships in [the cultural] milieu that determines"[11] whether assistance provided by experts is helpful and effective.

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[8] See U.S. A.I.D. Participant Training Branch, *An Evaluation Study: The Indian Participant Training Programs* (New Delhi: American Embassy, 1966); A.I.D. Participant Training Program, *Near East and South Asia: An Evaluation Study* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 1966); James L. Davis, "Follow-up Evaluation Study of Participants from India Who Received Training in. . .Teachers College, Columbia University. . . ." (1965); International Research Associates, Inc., *A Survey of the Peruvian Participant Training Program* (1965).

[9] On the last point David C. McClelland has this to say: "We are accustomed to looking at inventions and technological improvements from the point of view of their subsequent history. If the invention proved an economic success, we almost unconsciously assume that the promotion of the invention was economically justifiable *at that time*. This clearly seems not to have been the case in many instances. It was only the simultaneous irrational efforts of many people that ultimately justified the enterprise of some of them." *The Achieving Society* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1963), pp. 13-14.

In view of the considerations mentioned above, I should like to raise a number of questions from what may be called the non-western perspective about educational aid experts or advisers. Most of these are questions which have been mentioned but not discussed in any depth in the western literature on educational assistance. The notes which follow the brief explication of the questions will cite the references in the available literature.

Granting that the success of foreign experts depends on technical skill, belief in mission, cultural empathy, a sense of politics, and organizational ability,[12] are there differences in the combinations of these attributes required of persons who serve in countries which differ in the level of development – either in education or in a composite sense – that they have reached? For instance John Kenneth Galbraith in *The Underdeveloped Country* speaks of three models of underdevelopment: the sub-Saharan model in which the principal barrier is the absence of "a minimum cultural base," the Latin American model in which economically nonfunctional élites prevent development, and the South Asian model in which, although the cultural base is very wide, there is drastically bad proportioning of the factors of production.[13] If some such variation in models is valid, the kinds of experts to be sent to countries in each of these areas may well be different.[14]

Can studies be conducted of the personality characteristics of the thousands of individuals who are recruited to serve abroad as advisers? For example, is it possible to formulate categories similar to the sociological categories such as cosmopolitans and locals[15] which would aid in the better selection of personnel for service abroad?

If indeed it is so difficult to recruit personnel for service as experts and advisers abroad, what connotations does that carry about the personnel that are recruited?

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[10] Philip H.Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis* (New York: Oxford , 1968), p. 150. My own analysis based on sources such as, U.S. A.I.D. Mission to India, *Education Division Report, 1952-1965,* prepared by K.L.Khetarpal (New Delhi, 1965) also indicate the predominance of the personnel componet in dollar-aid to India.

[11] Ronald C.Nairn, *International Aid to Thailand: The New Colonialism?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p.4.

[12] Butts, *op.cit.,* p.34.

[13] John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Underdeveloped Country* (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1965).

[14] See also The Committee on the University and World Affairs, Ford Foundation, *The University and World Affairs* (New York, 1960), p.40; Overseas Development Institute, *Aid to Education, op.cit.,* p.19; Little and Clifford, *op.cit.,* pp.97-98.

[15] See Robert K.Merton, "Patterns of Influence, Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957), pp.387-420; Alvin W.Gouldner, "Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward An Analysis of Latent Social Roles," *Administrative Science Quarterly,* Vol.2 (1957-58), pp.282-306 and 444-480.

Time and again I was told during interviews in India that the kinds of foreign experts who really can help are so busy in their own countries that they can afford to pay only short visits to India during which time they cannot study the problems in sufficient detail and depth. How valid are comments such as this?

Most of the educational aid goes from university level to university level. This is done on the grounds that the expert ought to be placed on a level where he can influence the greatest possible number of people (the multiplier principle).[16] To what extent does the social class background of the visiting as well as the indigenous personnel distort perceptions of the *real* needs of the country? Similarly, how valid is the assertion that hostility towards foreign technical assistance is "the result of insecurity on the part of the entrenched élites? "[17]

How does the federal/state/local relationship in the recipient country affect, and how is it affected by, the foreign educational expert? What implications do these relationships have in the efforts of the foreign expert to get to know the local system he is to serve? [18]

To what extent is the recipient country consulted concerning the experts it is to accept? The impression that these countries accept experts as part of the price they have to pay for other essential items of foreign aid is certainly an unflattering one. A further relevant question is: how much do the "tied aid" policies of aid-giving nations restrict recipient countries from recruiting the best experts available from the international market? [19]

In most developing countries, educational aid represents a comparatively small proportion of national expenditures on education. In view of this, should donor countries "expect their educational aid to give them the right to a controlling voice concerning the recipient country's educational system? "[20]

In case of conflict between the foreign expert or adviser and his native counterpart, what is the story the counterpart has to tell?

Some recipients of educational aid receive experts from different donor countries. Each tends to offer different and sometimes conflicting advice. How may recipient nations which cannot afford to displease any nation resolve these conflicts? [21]

There is a great deal of advice, in the literature addressed to developing nations, that they must be innovative. How can developing nations learn to be innovative when they observe that the proposed innovations come straight out of the orthodox practices of the developed nations? As Philip H.Coombs says: "to the degree that the educational crisis of developing countries stems from the unsuitability of their educational systems to their circumstances, the problem is not entirely of their own making. They have had plenty of 'expert help' from the outside."[22]

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[16] See James J. Shields, Jr., *op.cit.*, p.352; Ladislav Cerych, *op.cit.*, p.39.

[17] Joseph La Palambara, *op.cit.*, p.119. Also see Montgomery, *op.cit.*, pp.266-267; John P.Powelson, "How Latin American Left Views U.S.," *Christian Science Monitor* (July 25, 1968), p.9.

[18] See Little and Clifford, *op.cit.*, pp.111-112 and 186; Montgomery, *op.cit.*, p.264.

[19] See Edward T. Hall, op.cit., p.371; Edward W.Weidner, *The World Role of Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), pp.170-171; Cerych, *op.cit.*, p.152.

[20] *Aid to Education, op.cit.*, pp.17-18.

[21] See *The Challenge of Aid to Newly Developing Countries, op.cit.*, p.82; Cerych, *op.cit.*, p.151; Nairn, *op.cit.*, pp.82-84; Guy Benveniste, "Five Areas of Controversy: New Problems in Aid to Education," *International Development Review*, Vol.VIII (June,1965), p.21.

Legal fictions apart, what proportions of requests for aid originate from the recipient and the donor countries respectively? Arjun Sengupta observes:

> If the domestic conditions are so precarious that even the crumbs cannot be foregone, not to speak of the whole loaf of foreign aid, there is the great risk of the receiver changing its mind and revising its goals to suit the wishes of the giver.[23]

Intense studies of the processes involved in formulating and administering aid programs might lead us to better answers to this question.[24]

There are also related questions on ingeniously veiled ways of influencing important persons or groups through awards of fellowships, lectureships, and so on.[25] That, for instance, the United States Central Intelligence Agency has done this is now common knowledge. It is, of course, true that these matters are extremely difficult to research and document.

Perhaps all the questions raised above are related directly or indirectly to the problem of ethnocentrism in educational aid. In emphasizing the enthnocentrism of donor countries, I do not mean to suggest that receiving countries do not have ethnocentric attitudes. They do, and these have been discussed, interpreted, and sometimes misinterpreted very thoroughly in the western world. So, in order to gain a clearer perspective it is opportune to ask: to what extent do the ethnocentric values of the western world influence its aid programs? (It is not necessary to imply ill will on the part of the western world to explore this question). Some statements eloquently express this ethnocentrism. Adam Curle wrote several years ago that "countries are underdeveloped because most of their people are underdeveloped."[26]

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[22] Philip H.Coombs, *The World Educational Crisis, op.cit.,* p.154. Also see Coombs, "Ways to Improve United States Foreign Educational Aid," in *Education and Foreign Aid* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1965), p.22; Everett E. Hagen, "A Framework For Analyzing Economic and Political Change," in *Development of the Emerging Countries: An Agenda for Research, op.cit.,* pp.16-19; *The Challenge of Aid to Newly Developing Countries, op.cit.,* p.82; Nairn, *op.cit.,* pp.127-130; Max F.Millikan, "Education for Innovation," *West and Non-West: New Perspectives,* Vera Micheles Dean and Harry D. Harootunian, editors (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), pp.323-336.

[23] Arjun Sengupta, "The Problem," *Seminar* (India): *Aid or/and Trade* (October, 1966), p.11. Also, Harold R.W.Benjamin, *op.cit.,* pp.11-15.

[24] See "Appendix D, The Program Procedure for Foreign Economic Aid," in *The Formulation and Administration of United States Foreign Policy* by H.Field Haviland, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1960), pp.178-180 for the possible directions of study.

[25] See Herbert Feldman, "Aid As Imperialism," *International Affairs* (London), Vol.43, No.2 (April, 1967), pp.230-231.

[26] Adam Curle, "Some Aspects of Educational Planning in Underdeveloped Areas," *Harvard Educational Review,* Vol.32 (1963), p.300. Also see Paul H.Landis, "Values American Education Offers the World," *The Educational Record,* Vol.41 (October,1960), pp.279-284; Jay Gurian, "The American Image and the Indian Mind," *Western Humanities Review,* Vol.XX (1966), pp. 143-151.

Such a statement is perfectly tenable within the framework of assumptions that the explanation of economic backwardness in poor countries is to be found in the values and psychological characteristics of the native population. But it behooves us to take note of challenges to these assumptions from social scientists in the new nations themselves.[27] Is it possible that aid policies, perhaps unconsciously, are influenced by attitudes such as "people so perverse as to choose to remain foreign deserve no help?"[28] The following questions are also worth asking: What are the best American or British or Canadian or French values? How much of these is exportable? How rapidly should the diffusion of foreign values be expected to take place? What degree of compliance with the wishes of foreign countries by developing nations is necessary for (a) the development of the country, and (b) the national security as opposed to the national ego of the donor country? [29] In exploring these questions, it may be fruitful to use terms such as the national interest, national interests, objectives, policies, commitments, and principles analytically[30] and use content analyses of relevant documents. Kenneth L. Neff asks another set of questions which are also relevant in this context:

> How does one identify outdated and inflexible institutions? Are they to be found only in less developed countries? Is it possible that western civilization has developed some 'cultural mental blocks' which restrict our ability to identify our own dysfunctional institutions? [31]

Explorations of questions like this will enable us to better understand and evaluate charges emanating from developing countries that donor countries are in fact following neo-colonialist policies.[32] Aid policies, especially in education, by their nature, call for considerable interference in the affairs of recipient countries, which is a legitimate cause of concern and irritation. This was brought home to his American audience by Luther Harris Evans in the following manner:

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[27] See Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, "Conservative Thought in Applied Anthropology: A Critique," *Human Organization,* Vol. 25. No.2 (Summer, 1966), pp.89-92; P.Chikwe Onwuachi and Alvin W.Wolfe, "The Place of Anthropology in the Future of Africa," *Human Organization,* Vol. 25, No.2 (summer, 1966), pp. 93-95; Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Seven Erroneous Theses about Latin America," *New University Thought,* Vol.4, No.4 (Winter, 1966-67), pp.25-37; Andre Gunder Frank, "Sociology of Development and the Underdevelopment of Sociology," *Catalyst* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1967), pp.20-73. American challenges to these assumptions are also many. Two are: Kathleen Gough, "Anthropology and Imperialism," *Monthly Review,* Vol.19, No.11 (April, 1968), pp.12-27; Robert H.Heilbroner, "Counterrevolutionary America," *Commentary* (April, 1967)

[28] Geoffry Gorer quoted in Michael Kent O'Leary, *The Politics of American Foreign Aid* (New York: Atherton, 1967), pp.17-18.

[29] These are paraphrased from Geoffrey Gorer, *The American People* (New York: Norton, 1958) p. 131.

[30] See Appendix A in William Reitzal, *et.al., United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1955* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1956), pp.471-479.

[31] Kenneth L. Neff, *National Development Through Social Progress: the Role of Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S.Office of Education, 1963), p.2.

[32] Little and Clifford, *op.cit.,* frankly admit that aid policies of donor countries "is neo-colonialism, but neo-colonialism in the cause of development" (p.192). For other relevant statements see *Seminar: Aid or/and Trade, op.cit.; Aid to Education, op.cit.,*p.18.

> Suppose we were told that we could not finish the Freeway from here to Binghamton because the European Common Market decided that this was not a priority! What would we think if the Soviet Union were to offer aid to the state of Georgia to show it how to handle the problem of integration in the schools? Well, these are just the kinds of things we are doing in interfering in the lives of about sixty countries.[33]

Investigations of questions such as the ones raised here may help clear up many confusions about (a) the impact of the different value systems of the different western nations on developing countries, and (b) the relationship of technical changes to social and cultural changes in these countries.[34]

This paper has attempted to point out the theoretically obvious fact that the socio-cultural systems in developing countries are very complex. It is well known to social scientists that people make subtle distinctions at levels close to themselves but merge people who are far from themselves into indistinct clusters. It is axiomatic that educational advisers or experts – unless they are expected only to advise on their special subjects – should know the local scene or system well. The published writings by and about them, however, do not indicate that they do.

The questions raised in this paper are not an attempt to implicitly defend the *status quo* in the name of the inviolability of the existing state of affairs in developing countries. It is an attempt to point out that the role foreign educational aid can play in these countries need not necessarily be critical or even beneficial. At best it may do all that the inspirational literature on the subject claims. At worst, it may thwart the necessary changes by propping up those who, in the course of political events, would have been displaced. In either case, there is a much greater need to be aware of the restrictive vision that cultural blinkers can cause.

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[33] Luther Harris Evans, "Problems of Educational Aid to Developing Countries," *America's Emerging Role in Overseas Education,* Clarence W.Hunnicutt, editor (Syracuse: Syracuse University School of Education, 1962), pp.45-46.

[34] One of the best studies on this subject is Nairn, *op.cit.,* also see Montgomery, *op.cit.,* pp.273-274.

CONFERENCE
of The
Comparative and International Education Society
of Canada
in cooperation with
The Council of the Learned Societies
York University, Toronto
June 3 – June 4, 1969
"The Unique Characteristics of Canadian Education"

PROGRAM

Tuesday, June 3

8:30 Registration

9:00 C.I.E.S.C. President's opening remarks and salute to visitors

9:10 - 12:00 "The Unique Characteristics of Canadian Education in the West".
Chairman: Dr.A.Paplauskas-Ramunas, University of Ottawa
I Territories ....Mr. W.G.Devitt, Superintendent of Schools, Eastern Arctic
II Prairies ....Dr. M.R.Lupul, University of Alberta
III British Columbia .... Professors J.Donald Wilson and Jorgen Dahlie, University of British Columbia
Discussant: Dr.R. Stamp, University of Western Ontario

2:00 - 5:00 "The Unique Characteristics of Canadian Education in the East"
Chairman: Dean L. Desjarlais, University of Ottawa
IV Ontario .... Professor C.J.Jaenen, University of Ottawa
V Quebec .... Dr.A.Tremblay, Deputy Minister of Education, Quebec.
VI Atlantic Provinces ......Dr. J.Love, University of New Brunswick
Discussant: Professor D. O'Driscoll, Queen's University

Wednesday, June 4

9:00 - 10:00

VII “The Unique Characteristics of Canadian Education”
Chairman: Dr. A.F.Skinner, University of Toronto
Canadian Education ..... Dr.Margaret Gillett, McGill University
Discussant: Dr.B.Y.Card, University of Alberta

11:00 - 12:00

“Research in Comparative and International Education”
Chairman: Professor M.Braham, Sir George Williams University

1. Dr.R.Magnuson, McGill University
2. Dr.A.Farine, University of Montreal
3. Dr.M.Zachariah, University of Calgary

2:00 - 4:00

Business Meeting
Chairman: Dr. Joseph Katz, University of British Columbia

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